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AND AFTER THE COUNCIL?

Hans Küng

THE NEW RADICALISM

Michael Harrington

THE END OF THE NEWMAN 'CLUB'

Richard Butler

DISARMAMENT INCHES AHEAD

Norma Krause Herzfeld

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CORRESPONDENCE

Modernism's Specter

Buffalo, N. Y.

To the Editors: Having myself done research on Modernism, its condemnation and its aftermath in America, I greatly appreciated John Ratte's article "The Specter of Modernism [July 23]." Its exposition and appraisal are very well balanced.

There is one more dimension to Modernism which I would like to point out: the ecumenical dimension, which was already perceived by some writers. I can only indicate here the most articulate voice: "*Passing Protestantism and Coming Catholicism*" by N. Smyth (New York, 1908). In it, the author, a Protestant Minister, held that Modernism was to be the mediating term between Catholicism and the whole of Christianity. The Coming Catholicism was not to be an eclectic religion reached by compromises, but a new understanding of the mystery of Christianity arrived at through love and mutual comprehension. The Churches were already treading the paths of unity.

He felt certain that no one could halt the dynamism of what was good and true in Modernism. The renovation of Roman Catholicism by the modern spirit would adopt forms of worship more compatible with fashionable habits. Evangelical simplicity would be restored in the celebration of the eucharistic mystery, in the administration of the sacraments, in the revision of symbolism, in the function and historicity of relics.

Another possibility of renewal in the Roman Church, prompted by Modernism, was the election of a liberal-minded Pope and the assembling of a General Council. The possibility of such a Pope was of no immediate probability, but when the time for a "General Council shall have fully come, the leaven of the modern learning will have so far pervaded the whole lump that Ultramontanism may no longer sift its wholesome working of the loaf. A General Council would prove an immensely reformatory power in the Catholic Church."

With the convening of an Ecumenical Council a logical step would also be a dialogue with representative Protestants. Forgiveness from each other should be asked.

The issue where reconciliation seemed impossible is the claim of papal primacy. However, "Limited by the power of the Bishops throughout the world, it might be respected by those who could not subject themselves to it." Obviously, collegiality does not tamper with the primacy, yet the author had hoped for more recognition of the pastoral office of the Bishop.

Such and many other references to the ecumenical significance of Modernism were made, which seem to be of relevance to our age.

(*Rev.*) JOSEPH INVERARDI, I.M.C.

Liberal Apologetic?

Claremont, Calif.

To the Editors: John Ratte's article "The Specter of Modernism" is a disappointing example of liberal apologetic which does more to reveal the dominance of the old fears than the liberation of the new hopes. What Mr. Ratte is telling us, in effect, is that we can separate the Church's condemnation of all modernizing, rethinking and up-dating the Church which seems to be implied in the decree *Lamentabili* and the encyclical *Pascendi* from the actual Modernists. All our erstwhile ritual denunciations of Modernism we can now transfer to the actual Modernists who belong to the dead past, but our own dreams of modernization and *aggiornamento* need no longer be troubled by their specter.

Having performed our *auto da fé* upon the actual Modernists of the past to satisfy our debt to authority, we can then pronounce our benediction upon the general instinct for modernization (now purged of its tainted relationship with the Modernists), and hence lay our blessings upon our own deserving heads. All this makes for good apologetic (the motives are all too understandable), but bad history. Until such time as we can sympathetically come to terms with Loisy and Tyrrell, and, in particular, with the drive for objective and free historical inquiry into Scripture and the development of the Church which was the heart of the Modernist movement, the specter of the Modernists will continue to haunt our dreams. Not through damnation, but only through redemption are the ghosts of our past finally laid to rest.

ROSEMARY RUETHER

Hawks and Doves

Worcester, Mass.

To the Editors: The two editorials following one another in the August 6 issue of COMMONWEAL provide an interesting, if depressing comment on the present state of American opinion toward the war in Vietnam. First, in "Our War in Vietnam," you describe our problems, criticizing the U.S. bombings and our present alliance with the political generals of the south. Then in "Lobbying for Peace," you say that about all those calling for peace can offer is a slogan: "stop the killing in Vietnam." Such unfair dismissal of those advocating a peaceful settlement has been used by the Administration ever since Professor Morgenthau, Walter Lippmann, David McReynolds, and others began calling attention to the lack of wisdom in President Johnson's Asian policy.

"Still, there are values in a vague 'peace lobby,'" you continue, "the chief one being the neutralization of the professional 'anti-Communist' or 'war' lobby.'" In other words: "Keep the riff-raff neutralizing one another, off the street, so we muddle-of-the-roaders can lethargically drift with the State Department toward war with China"?

As Walter Burnham indicates in the same issue of COMMONWEAL, the Free Speech Association and others for a more militaristic U.S. foreign policy continue to exercise their muscles; and their political strength would seem to far outweigh that of spokesmen for a

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peaceful settlement in Vietnam. Meanwhile, the vigorous wing of the liberal cause, with which COMMONWEAL has in less critical times identified itself, adopts a namby-pamby rhetoric about the weakness of any call for peace.

The "peace lobby" has mentioned concrete action: ending the bombing in North Vietnam; withdrawal of American troops. Even something as "vague" as "stop the killing" strikes me as imminently more specific than what you offer in your editorial against those who call for total war. As long as people remain ultimately unconcerned about peace for its own sake, with little political gain, the President's power to commit us to war remains unchallenged. The lobby for "toughness," contrary to your editorial, has *no* counterweight at the present time . . . except the misty, space-filling void that surrounds the earth from pole to pole with one moan: praise to the "moderate" position that permits us to drift closer and closer to disaster.

M. D. TRUE

Variant Readings

Rockville Centre, N. Y.

To the Editors: I do not know if it is Mr. William V. Shannon's informed sources, or his mental processes, that are different, but in his "The Point of No Return" (Aug. 20) he has conveyed an interpretation of the President's July announcement that is at variance with that of Messrs. James Reston and Walter Lippmann. If the latter were accurate in their appraisal, we have halted at the brink and are cautiously seeking the path of peace. If Mr. Shannon is right, then the art of fabrication at the White House has escalated from the little white lie of the U-2 days to swindling an entire nation down the road to war.

Unfortunately the President has demonstrated a willingness to misrepresent the facts, as he did in launching the Santo Domingo fiasco. The continuance of the atrocity of the bombing of North Vietnam, in the absence of any evidence whatsoever that it has any mili-

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GOUVERNEUR PAULDING

The late C. G. Paulding, as he identified himself when serving as a member of COMMONWEAL's staff, made a memorable contribution during his eight years as Literary and then Managing Editor. A long-time contributor, he returned to this country early in 1940, after residing abroad for a number of years, and directly after five years as a lecturer and contributor on the staff of *Esprit*, the distinguished Christian personalist review headed by Emmanuel Mounier. Charles Gouverneur Paulding had a remarkable grasp of European Catholicism and he arrived here before France had fallen to the Nazi war machine and before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, which to all practical purposes brought America's interventionist-isolationist debate to an abrupt close.

"C.G.," then, served as an editor of this journal throughout this country's participation in World War II after having taken an impassioned part in the all-out debates that immediately preceded the entrance of the United States into the war against the Axis. He stood firmly on the interventionist side of the argument, but this did not prevent his subsequently maintaining a critical and distinctly minority attitude on the Allies' (and particularly his own country's) conduct of the war — from the obliteration bombing of enemy cities and the effects on the populace of the European blockade to the tragedy of Hiroshima.

His writings on the anguish of the war and the troubled postwar years were permeated by an intense Christian compassion which week after week reached out to his fellowmen on both sides of the battle lines, to those in uniform as well as civilian victims of every age, country and station. And this compassion combined with a high degree of sensibility, a poetic nostalgia for the Hudson River country and the Europe he had known and loved, an expertise in contemporary creative literature and an inimitable style of expression to produce some of the most eloquent pages ever to appear in this magazine. Accordingly, his departure in

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1948 to join the newly-founded *Reporter* could only be a blow to his fellow-editors on this journal.

His leaving was all the more so because, with the limited circulation the magazine had achieved up to that time, the late 1940's comprised one of COMMONWEAL's most difficult periods. C. G. Paulding's encouraging presence, his patience, unfailing good humor, confidence and self-dedication helped the magazine to surmount many a crisis.

But above all it was the personal affection which intimate association in a common struggle induced in all who worked with him that his former associates will most cherish. If the artistry of his writing brought many to COMMONWEAL's door when readers were at such a premium, and if "C.G." could always be depended on to meet the printer's deadline and to come through for the magazine whenever the chips were down, it was his warm personal charm and the quality of his friendship that we shall longest remember. May he rest in peace.

ARE WE LISTENING?

As occasions for the exercise of logic, riots have some tantalizing features. Take Los Angeles. The riot there showed that an effect can bear no proportional relation to its immediate cause. So it was that an ordinary incident—white policeman arrests drunken Negro driver—resulted finally in thirty-six deaths, thousands of arrests and injuries and millions of dollars worth of damage. The riot also showed that some events are compatible with any explanation whatsoever, however silly. Thus it was that the outburst played into everyone's hands. For the radical right it proved that Communism and Negro agitation have the same end in view and work together to attain it: the destruction of American life and institutions. For the radical center it proved that civil rights agitation, even if understandable on occasion, too often lead to the destruction of that national shrine of moderation, "law and order." For the radical left it proved that you get from a people what you give them.

Unfortunately, the riot in Los Angeles was something more than an occasion for the exercise of logic. Or better, it might be said that there is a logic to riot, but not of the kind one is likely to find described in approved manuals on the rational life. President Johnson, for one, failed to see this. In bristling terms, the President said that the Los Angeles outbreak contributed no more to civil rights than does the crude art of the klansman. The point is both obvious and trivial, but since no one claimed that the riot had as its aim civil rights progress, his criticism is beside the point. And what is the point? It is that when an ultimately unreasonable—that is, inhuman—social condition prevails, human beings will respond in an unreasonable, inhuman way. The way to make a man his own worst enemy is to make him your own worst enemy. That is what the white man has done to the Negro, and logic does finally triumph: the rioting in Los Angeles turns out, after all, to be proportional to its cause. If the white man does not grasp the underlying pattern of racial explosions very quickly, he is doomed to many, many more.

One of these patterns is that gradual progress does not guarantee increasing happiness. In fact, it seems to work the other way around: gradual progress increases unhappiness because it reveals more starkly the contrast between possibility and reality. Another, and related, pattern is that a superficial tinkering with the status quo can introduce far more havoc than a total revolution. The Negro has made great political gains; so many, in fact, that he can see just how much he has been deprived of the fruits which our political system is supposed to produce.

These are dismal reflections. They confirm what the sensible slaveowner always knew: if you want to keep a man down, give him absolutely nothing; if you give him a crumb of freedom, he will want the whole cake. There is no middle ground. With the Emancipation Proclamation over a hundred years ago slavery was declared dead. Yet for generations the white man saw to it that the Negro should not construe the death of slavery as the beginning of a free life.

It is to the credit of the present white generation that it came dimly to see that the post-Civil War strategy was little better than that which went before it. But so far it has missed seeing the slaveowners' point. It has tried to give the Negro a crumb and then expected him to be satisfied—and not only that, it has expected him to take a crumb and, on his own, turn it overnight into a cake. The Negro knows it can't be done. The articulate Negro leader says as much when he calls for a thorough social reconstruction, when he calls for jobs to go with votes, housing space to go with fair housing laws, decent education to go with integrated classrooms. The inarticulate Negro, those who use their bodies where words are wanting, speak the same message when they burn, loot and kill. Of course it is a stupid way to talk, but then they're talking to stupid people.

They are talking to the good white folk of California who won't give them jobs. To the efficient police chief

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of Los Angeles who has a zealous hatred of Negro lawbreakers. To the proud mayor of Los Angeles who could once deny that his city has any special need of federal poverty or riot-preventive medicine. To the pious Cardinal Archbishop of Los Angeles who once patiently explained with full episcopal dignity that there was no race problem in his city. And they were speaking to us solid liberal types, us good folks who think it is all the fault of the Parkers, the Yortys and the McIntyres. We hear you speaking. Maybe.

PEEPHOLE JOURNALISM

Perhaps the most relevant thing to say about the excerpts of the Schlesinger memoirs is that their author was not an intimate of the President. He was first and foremost a Stevenson man who became a Kennedy adviser to help make the best of a Presidency he did not wholly condone. In turn, President Kennedy kept Schlesinger around as a marginal man of ideas with valuable contacts in the academic world. Perhaps, too, the President made room for Schlesinger with an eye toward a possible history on "the Age of Kennedy," but it became clear soon enough that Schlesinger would play a major role only in writing that history, not in making it.

As an outsider, then, Schlesinger has little to add to our knowledge of the Kennedy years that is a) substantial, or b) new. In the published excerpts, he has made the most of a few occasions when he was permitted to see more than the average reporter.

In the absence of new revelations, Schlesinger's forte, by default, has become titillating political gossip. So far, it has provided all that is really new in the Schlesinger account, plus a good deal—such as the observations on Dean Rusk—that is not even new, but merely rehashed rumor that cannot be proved or disproved.

One of Mr. Schlesinger's problems is that he has no taste. The trivial and often embarrassing personal vignettes about the personal life of the Kennedys add nothing. Aside from the needs of selling his book, there is no earthly reason to include them. This is certainly not history, merely exploitation of position in the Dorothy Kilgallen mode. Similarly, there is something tawdry in the way a venemous attack on Rusk has been interwoven with sentiments attributed to a dead President. An attack of this sort is traditional enough, particularly on an incumbent secretary of state, but the form in which Mr. Schlesinger chose to couch it has inevitably involved both President Kennedy and the successor who chooses to keep him on. At best, Schlesinger the serializer has trivialized his memoirs. At worst he has irresponsibly exploited a position of little responsibility, but some trust.

DISPLACED TEACHERS

The Department of Health Education and Welfare is coming under increasing pressure to assure the integration of teachers as well as pupils in the nation's schools. A developing problem is that as Negro children are integrated into all-white schools, their former teachers are not. The NEA estimates that the jobs of 5,500 Southern Negro teachers may be endangered in the next few years. Because of narrower opportunities, some of these teachers may be less qualified than their white counterparts; yet the tendency in many communities is to assume Negro inferiority, even when academic degrees demonstrably refute it.

The North is taking up some of the slack. New York City's Board of Education has announced it will employ 500 displaced Southern Negro teachers. Commendable as this is, the fact remains that the problem must be solved in the South. Qualified Negro teachers are desperately needed there, and they must not be driven away. Nor should the impression be given that the North is tacitly cooperating in an effort to maintain a form of segregation in the South. Individual suits by displaced Negro teachers are being backed by the NAACP, but this is not the total answer. Health Education and Welfare has adopted the position that teacher integration is necessary. It should back up this conviction through its power to give or withhold federal grants.

NEWS & VIEWS

Latin America Reacts

Santiago

The burnings of U.S. flags and angry street demonstrations ended in Chile by mid-May; the bold accusing headlines carried by the leftist dailies began to taper off by early June; the denunciations passed by every group from the Association of Secondary School Students to the Christian Democratic Party (PDC) were also completed within a month of the landing of the U.S. Marines in Santo Domingo. Yet the nagging issues of intervention and self-determination remain central to Chileans and all literate Latin Americans.

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The long-range effects of the unilateral U.S. intervention in the internal affairs of the Dominican Republic are just beginning to become apparent. Most unfortunately, right after the first steps have been taken to create a common market, Latin America finds itself seriously divided on the issue of the landing of the Marines. The democracies—Chile, Uruguay, Mexico, and Venezuela—have consistently attacked the U.S. action and have strongly denied any need for an OAS multilateral peace force (MLF). The opposite camp is headed by South America's giant, Brazil. In what reads like a parody of President Johnson's lofty justification for the need, and right, to intervene against subversion anywhere in Latin America, Brazil's Foreign Minister recently spoke excitedly of the "fact" that there are no boundaries where ideology is concerned.

Brazil, which has more marshals than all the rest of the world combined, has made it clear—in scurrilous newspaper campaigns against the "softness" of Chile and Uruguay in the face of the Red Menace—that she intends to play the watchdog in South America. Her offer in early June to help crush the rebellious tin miners in Bolivia, the stationing of some 12,000 troops near the borders of democratic Uruguay, and the harrassment of Chile's chargé d'affaires in the Dominican Republic by Brazilian OAS forces, are the first gestures of this "*gorila*" regime in currying favor with its more suave counterparts in the Pentagon and C.I.A.

Within individual countries there are the same disturbing developments. This particularly holds for those semi-democracies, such as Argentina, whose civil governments exist largely at the sufferance of the military. There has been great pressure on President Arturo Illia to send some of the hundreds of idle army units the country is saddled with to Santo Domingo. In other countries, which are not democracies in even the loose definition often used when speaking of anti-Communist regimes (Paraguay and Bolivia come to mind), the heavy hand of the generals has been strengthened as a result of the official U.S. position which sees a military response as the only feasible one in the face of "subversion" in Latin America.

The decade which began with the great hope of the *Alianza*, the Peace Corps, and U.S. encouragement of internal reform has taken a nasty turn. It seems that those few countries which have attempted to promote agricultural reform and strengthen representative government in line with the calls for change enunciated by President Kennedy are the very ones which will be opposed to the establishment of a permanent MLF under the OAS when it is proposed at the meeting of Foreign Ministers toward the end of the year. The fact that two notorious "*gorila*" states—El Salvador and Brazil—are the colleagues of the U.S. in the negotiations in the Dominican Republic and that the proposed team of Latin American liberals, José Figueres, Romulo Betancourt, and Luis Muñoz Marin was quietly dropped the end of May has also caused anxiety in Chile and elsewhere. As it is, every party in Chile except the Conservative (7% of the vote last March) has come out against the MLF idea. In Argentina the President is under army pressure to ignore the opposition of almost all of the political parties to participation in the MLF in Santo Domingo. The recent U.S. sale of 50 Skyhawks to the Argentine Air Force has not served to strengthen Illia's hand.

Just as the "peace keeping" operations in Santo Domingo have aided reactionary military juntas, so too have they worked as a catalyst for the extreme left which has long been studying "Che" Guevara's how-to-do-it pamphlet on carrying out successful revolution. Paraguay is (finally) seeing its first Castro-type activities in the jungle reaches north of Asunción. Perhaps if the AFL-CIO had shown one-tenth the concern for the lack of civil liberties and anything resembling trade unions in Gen. Stroessner's preserve that it has in trying to persuade Latin Americans that the U.S. did the only correct thing on April 28 in Santo Domingo, so many of that unhappy country's intellectuals would not be looking for a "Cuban answer." More seriously, the fragile semi-democracies of Peru and Colombia have witnessed widespread street disorders, terrorist manifestations, and the beginnings of organized guerrilla movements. Huge areas of Peru have been living under martial law since mid-June as a result of *fidelista* determination to activate the Quechua-speaking Indians.

This is not only to imply that these operations might not have begun in any event—only that they have *all* started since mid-May largely because it was felt that anti-U.S. sentiment in the cities might mitigate or neutralize repressive measures. Significantly, Venezuela, which has suffered the most at the hands of extremists in past years and therefore, presumably, has the most

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to fear from another Cuba in the Caribbean, voted against a MLF in the Dominican Republic and has recently strengthened ties with Chile.

President Frei's answer to the Averell Harriman mission of early May seems to be born out by events. The acknowledged spokesman of Christian Democracy in Latin America answered the"Johnson Doctrine"spokesman by stressing that the more the Communists are suppressed, the "harder" they become and that only by competing with them in the democratic arena can they be defeated in a fashion that will help the people. The answer to the counter-insurgency school of Pentagon thinking comes from Venezuela, Uruguay, Mexico and, most articulately, from Chile: What Latin America needs is *more*, not less, democracy and complete self-determination for the smaller, weaker countries. This is yet another reason Chile especially is looking to Western Europe to offset what Frei referred to during his recent state visit to France as U.S. "paternalism" and why all of the democracies of South America welcomed a U.N. presence in the Dominican Republic.

The ambivalence of U.S. Latin American policy has thus had its effect on Christian Democrats and the moderate left in general. It is not simply that the sincerity of the *Alianza* is being questioned, but the impression is growing that the U.S. "power elite" seems to have dropped all talk of internal reform for Latin America and opted for "activist" counter-insurgency approaches. In view of recent events the "activist" elements at the Latin American Desk may well be entangled in what can only be called a self-predictive prophesy.

DONALD D. RANSTEAD

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THE CHICAGO DEMONSTRATION

A PRIEST IN JAIL

June 11th was hot. I recall this clearly because my Roman collar was especially uncomfortable. In a grassy area just south of Chicago's Soldier Field, about 400 civil rights demonstrators were forming a march to the City Hall to protest the rehiring of School Superintendent Benjamin Willis. Eager divinity students were there. There were many Negro drop-outs, noisy and energetic, intense social workers, a young sub-deacon with an almost cherubic face, a bearded anthropology student from the University of Chicago's graduate school, and assorted ministers and priests. According to Mayor Daley, there were probably a few Communists present also. It was as unlikely a group as one could imagine. Observing it were about a dozen newsmen, 70 or 80 policemen, and TV crews standing on top of their camera trucks. A television helicopter circling overhead made it difficult for us to hear ourselves. But we got used to its clatter. As we lined up, the marchers' song about the light of freedom filled the air: "All the way to the City Hall/I'm goin' to let it shine."

Dick Gregory poked his way through the crowd shaking hands. So did stately James Farmer of CORE. So did march leader Al Raby, the only man I know who can look relaxed and indignant at the same time. Soon the march leaders, including John McDermott of the Catholic Interracial Council, were huddled in a stake truck with Sergeant Sam Nolan of the Police Department's Human Relations Divisions. Raby then announced that we would confine our march to two lanes out of six as far as Michigan Avenue. There traffic conditions would determine how we would proceed to the City Hall.

So we filed out onto the Lake Shore Drive, eight abreast, policemen walking at twenty-foot intervals along the line of march. Using a yellow traffic cone as a megaphone, one of the parade marshals cried, "What do you want?" "Freedom," the marchers shouted. He said "When do you want it?" "Now," they answered. When passing drivers slowed down to see what was going on, I began to feel a little self-conscious. There I was, with the current *Reporter* magazine under my arm and a new summer straw on my head, walking down the middle of Lake Shore Drive. However, I began to lose my inhibitions as we approached the intersection at Balbo and Columbus Drives. I even led a few verses of "We Shall Overcome."

Just beyond the intersection there was a shoulder to shoulder cordon of policemen, positioned on an angle across one of the lanes we were going to use. Apparently the police were going to insist that we use just a single lane for that segment of the trip. We had expected to be able to use two lanes all the way to Michigan Avenue. Waiting ominously near the police line were six blue and white police vans. The leaders of the march insisted that the march was not to be funneled into a single lane. I was more than a hundred feet away

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from the cluster of police and march leaders, but after some confusion there came a shout back from the leaders. "Sit down! The police have gone back on their word! Sit down!" With that, many sat down, but many remained standing. Some walked over to the sidewalk to avoid arrest. I sat down and locked arms with a white minister and a Negro youth. As it became certain that all those who were in the street would be arrested, I began to wonder why I was sitting down. Parade marshals ran back with the frightening instructions, "Take off your glasses so they will not be broken when you are arrested."

At this point I got up. I remember thinking—of all things—that I did not want to have my newly-pressed suit damaged. So when two police officers approached me, I told them that I would walk to the van. It never occurred to me to walk to the sidewalk to avoid arrest. I just had to undergo arrest with the other protesters. This conviction was non-rational but utterly inescapable.

Civil Disobedience?

I did not think of this incident as civil disobedience. As far as I was concerned I was violating no law. I was within the area set apart by the police for the marchers, and I was not told to move out of that area. It seems that a police captain in fact announced with a bull horn that we would all have to get off the street or face arrest. But very few people heard him because the horn was not working properly. I did not even see him.

Motorists blocked at the intersection were blowing their horns or getting out of their cars to shout at the demonstrators. Some of the marchers began to clap and sing as the police escorted them to the vans. "All the way to the jail house/I'm goin' to let it shine./Let it shine./Let it shine."

As we filed through the first floor corridor of the police headquarters, civilian employees left their desks to observe the line of civil rights prisoners. Some quizzical Irish Catholic faces were shocked at the sight of priests in the custody of the police. One man went out of his way to say hello to me, as though to assure me there was no hard feeling between him and me, no matter what my standing with the law.

After our arrest papers were drawn up, we were searched. Even lapel pin buttons were taken away. Then the police led us in groups of eight to our cells. The cells were very clean; the word "immaculate" might even apply. In each cell was a toilet without a seat and a small water fountain, both apparently indestructible. Afterwards we were taken from our cells to be fingerprinted and photographed for our police record. For the straight-ahead photo we were told to take off our glasses. Glasses remained on for the profile shot. A thin chain around my neck supported a narrow wooden block which showed my record number. I looked down at the number—it began with 17—and saw that it appeared just beneath my Roman collar.

Though we were arrested at 2:30 in the afternoon, we were not arraigned until almost midnight. While our group of 73 arrestees (there were about 200 altogether) was waiting to be arraigned, we were detained for three hours in a tank-like room which we figured was meant to hold about 25 people. The air soon became humid, foul, and excessively warm. And we were hungry. Many of us had not eaten since breakfast. We were heartened when we heard that coffee and sandwiches had been brought in. But these were given to the bailiffs who had been asked to work overtime. Finally, about midnight, we were given unbuttered salami sandwiches.

When it was my turn to appear before the judge for arraignment, I was met at the bench by two alert and lean NAACP lawyers, both Negro. They explained that I was being charged with disorderly conduct and obstructing traffic. They advised me to plead not guilty. The judge set the trial for July 23rd and then released me on a $100.00 bond. It was 12:45 a.m. I walked into the night air knowing what Moses must have felt like just after he crossed the Red Sea.

On July 23rd I went to trial with three co-defendants: John McDermott of the CIC, and two other Chicago priests, Father Richard Heidkamp and Father Thomas Heaney. The trial took eight hours, most of which was used for the testimony of the police officers and for our testimony. Less than an hour after the trial started, one of my co-defendants, who had been observing the judge, James Piragine, said to me, "His mind is set on finding us guilty. The only question is how much we will be fined." In the judge's favor, it should be said that he was scrupulous about due process. But he did not seem to be sifting evidence. He fully believed—it seemed to us—whatever testimony the police gave. Our testimony, on the contrary, seemed to pass right over his head.

But what amazed us was the certainty and clarity of the police testimony. We were not even sure that we had seen these police officers before. They were not only sure that they had seen us in the crowd of 400, but they were able to say exactly where. One defendant was described as sitting about 18 feet from the center of the intersection on a diagonal line from that center to the intersection's northeast corner. As far as we were

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concerned, much of this highly certain police testimony simply did not represent reality. Finally the judge summed up the case, said we were guilty as charged, and imposed fines of $125.00.

The Chicago *Tribune* headlined the story on the second page, "Three Priests Fined $125.00 Each." Other papers carried the news as did the radio and TV. But the *Tribune's* story carried several mistakes, one which was terribly unfortunate. It said that Father Heaney testified that he sat down in the street to read a magazine. Many of the people who wrote to me critically as a result of our publicity ridiculed Father Heaney for this statement. But Father Heaney had never made such a statement. The *Tribune* reporter, it turned out, had not been present in the courtroom when Father Heaney testified.

The Chancery Office did not contact me in any way. Bishop Cletus O'Donnell, at the time of the arrests, said that priests have a right as citizens to take part in civil rights demonstrations. But he reminded them of their obligation to obey the law.

Monsignor Daniel Cantwell, long a civil rights leader in Chicago, made a statement which seemed to me to make his position as Catholic Interracial Council chaplain ambiguous. He deplored the role of some priests in civil rights efforts and said that our demonstrating was publicly creating the fiction that Mayor Daley was unwilling to meet with civil rights leaders. I do not know of anyone who marched with me who was protesting that Mayor Daley was inaccessible. In fact, the march leaders were to meet with Mayor Daley when we reached the City Hall. Some of us now wonder if yesterday's avant garde in the civil rights movement has not moved to a respectable center position.

Many friends have written to me or called me to say that they support me. Several have offered to help pay the fine. Their friendship and loyalty I value greatly, especially at this time. I also value the kindness of an ancient Negro woman whom I met in front of church on the Sunday after the trial. She took my hand warmly, and said with feeling, "Thank you, Father, for being convicted."

JOHN J. HILL

(*Father John J. Hill is a parish priest in the Archdiocese of Chicago.*)

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NOTES OF A VISITOR

FAREWELL TO AMERICA

Soon my fourth visit to the United States will be over. Within little more than a week I shall be slipping past the Statue of Liberty, out to the open sea; and, beyond it, the old world, my world, will wait for me. It seems the right moment to reflect a little on the new world, what I have seen of and in it since the September morning in 1964 when my ship docked in New York.

I arrived in a country preparing for the presidential election. It was at once clear to me, something which was by no means clear in Europe, that the only question that remained to be settled by the voting was the size of Johnson's majority. Johnson was the inheritor of Kennedy's domestic and foreign policies and there seemed to be a national consensus that these were the policies America needed in the 1960s. Johnson was opposed by a confused amateur politician who goofed every time he took his foot out of his mouth, who indulged in wild talk about escalating the war in Vietnam and confronting the Communist powers with a policy of "firmness", who was disgracing the party of Lincoln by making a play for the white vote in Alabama and Mississippi, and who had as his vice-presidential candidate a small-town politician and buffoon by the name of Miller.

It was also clear that the vote for Johnson was going to be in large measure an endorsement of the Kennedy policies and a vote against Goldwater-Miller, rather than an affirmation of confidence in Johnson personally. Johnson was widely thought to be a "politician" in the pejorative sense attached to the word in all Western societies. His folksy Texan style was against him; and the stifling of the inquiry into the Bobby Baker affair seemed undignified and suspicious. What was not clear at the time, what was hidden by the universal disposition to make him the polar opposite in every respect of Goldwater, was the countenance of the man who has driven through the series of crude improvisations that add up to the present Vietnam policy and who violated the OAS Charter—that there was an unmistakable (and admitted) legal violation of an agreement solemnly arrived at is curiously played down by the American press—by sending the Marines to San Domingo.

American liberals strike me as having gone through a tormenting experience in the last few months. They

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had ventured a great deal on the President's political virtue; and they were and are still reluctant to make up their minds about the foreign policy of a President with whose domestic policies—at least, in the sphere of civil rights—they are in broad agreement. It is easy to imagine what they would be saying if precisely the moves made by Johnson in the Vietnam affair had been made by Goldwater. They are not judging the policy: they are judging the man who makes the policy. Rather, they are clinging to a favorable judgment that belongs to a situation now past and has no relevance to the present. The hard fact is that in the matter of Vietnam, *securus iudicat orbis terrarum*. Outside of a few client regimes that have little choice, and possibly Western Germany, American policy in Vietnam has few admirers and few supporters.

How is it that liberals, and probably a majority of the academic community, so often give a kind of tortured half support to the Administration's policy on Vietnam? How is it that such a man as the late Adlai Stevenson could bear to occupy a role that imposed upon him, from the time of the Bay of Pigs affair onwards, moments of what he must have felt to be almost unbearable humiliation? There is plainly no one and no simple answer. I will venture to suggest a part of the answer. It is this. American liberals—not all, of course, but many—are still stupefied by anti-Communism. This means that they are always anxious to demonstrate that they belong to the virtuous and realistic left, not to the fellow-travelling left of the Kremlin's political dupes, and that they accept, if in a sophisticated form, the analysis of world politics which makes the great line of division that between the "free" world and the totalitarian Communist world. Consequently, any policy, no matter how much it may appear to be right and prudent, which seems to be or is to the advantage of the Communists, must *ipso facto* be wrong.

Some Doubts

Of course, such a position may mask a profound scepticism over the capacity of free societies to survive in our world or even an inner and unacknowledged suspicion that the future may well be with the Communists. But there is no reason whatever to accept the assumption that what is to the immediate advantage of some Communists, as an American withdrawal from Vietnam would clearly be, is necessarily to the long-term advantage of the Communists or to the long-term disadvantage of the United States. One has a suspicion that the dynamics of world politics are being understood in terms of the model employed by the foreign secretaries of Europe between 1815 and 1914, a model determined in its essential features by the experience of Napoleon, a phenomenon which (by hindsight) we know to have been quite irrelevant to post-Napoleonic politics. It is almost as though what has often been held to be the characteristic defect of the generals, that they see the next war in terms of the technical problems of the last, has its counterpart among political analysts. Lenin and Trotsky were treated as though they were the international conspirators of a Buchan melodrama; Stalin, the cautious, empirical, pitiless and in the end mad tyrant was treated as though he were Lenin; the lessons of the Stalin epoch were absurdly applied to the new epoch that followed Stalin's death; Chinese Communism is treated as though it is Soviet Communism that happens to be occurring at a later date.

It is a pleasure to turn from the contemplation of war and foreign policy to other features of the American scene. An English friend and colleague, one who is very English indeed and the kind of man likely to be most put off by the surface of American life, once remarked to me that he thought that in fifty or sixty years the United States would exhibit one of the great civilizations of the world. He made this remark after his first visit to the United States and at a time when I had not yet crossed the Atlantic. I have always remembered the remark and it is one I would now endorse without hesitation. Never in the history of the world has so much material wealth, technical ingenuity and social and political freedom been combined in an amalgam.

The results are already remarkable in terms of what is achieved in all the arts, in the building and sustenance of colleges and universities, in the maintenance of the superb system of national parks, in the partial solution of a most intractable racial problem through an engaging mixture of good-natured mass agitation with legal pressures. The list could be prolonged. It is not only that the United States can hope for a good life for their own peoples. The pursuit of this in the name of national egoism would be unworthy, opposed to the great traditions of the Republic and in effect impossible. But the United States have it in their power to serve mankind, not as masters or as moral policemen, but as teachers who, like all teachers, have much to learn from their pupils.

At any rate, my last thought, as the great ship leaves the harbor of New York, will not be of Vietnam or San Domingo, but of the inventive and charming people of the country, of the captivating scene provided by the countryside and the cities, and of those many individual Americans with whom I leave half my European heart.

J. M. CAMERON

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AND AFTER THE COUNCIL?

The spirit of Vatican II must not die

HANS KUNG

The fourth session of the Ecumenical Council, which will begin on September 12th, is intended to be the last. Whether it will be, no one can say at the present time; it depends on its progress and everything which affects it. But very probably it will be the last. In contrast to the beginning of the third session, even the Council majority now earnestly desires to end the Council with the fourth session. To be sure, many a participant is convinced that an abrupt end to the Council would not be best for the Church and the world. But can one really blame bishops and theologians from all over the world—most of whom have an overloaded schedule of work even without a Council—if they find it difficult year after year, following the summer vacation, to leave their ordinary work and spend practically the remainder of the year in Rome?

It is common knowledge that the prognosis for the fourth session is not very good—one hardly hears anything really optimistic. The fiasco at the end of the third session is to blame. Because of this, one often overlooks the following positive accomplishments to date, or, in any event, does not know entirely how to evaluate their significance for the future:

1. that there has come to life in the Catholic Church a *new spirit* which is more important for the future development of Church and Christendom than all of the explicit formulas and decrees;

2. that the Council *avoided the making of dogmas and condemnations,* revealing a new and more temperate attitude in theology (particularly in Mariology);

3. that *all remaining problems* in the Catholic Church today can be *discussed* openly, realistically and constructively, revealing a new freedom in the Church;

4. that a fundamental *liturgical reform,* fulfilling the real demands for it, has been decreed and already put into effect and will in the near future be brought to completion;

5. that, practically as well as theologically, a new era in the relationship *to the other Christian Churches* has been opened by the decree on Ecumenism;

6. that a *new self-understanding on the part of the Catholic Church* has come into play in the Constitution on the Church.

Why are these positive accomplishments not taken seriously enough by the world opinion? Two reasons stand out: On the one hand, many are convinced after the third session that in Rome itself, in spite of the Council, there was no significant change and that the promising spirit of John XXIII, more than ever now remembered in the world, although not actually extinct, is no longer the principal moving spirit of the Council. On the other hand, the accomplishments of the Council to date obviously fall short of what was generally expected.

One should, however, in this situation, not be too pessimistic before the fourth session. Quite the opposite. It should not be too difficult to bring the Council to an end which even the world would consider to

FATHER HANS KUNG *is the well-known theologian from the University of Tubingen, Germany. His most recent book is* The Church and Ecumenism (*Paulist Press*).

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be a *good* end. It is merely necessary to achieve the following:

1. an unequivocal position on *religious freedom:* the decree, the ratification of which has been obstructed for three sessions, has been revised again;

2. a Council declaration on *the non-Christian religions and especially the Jews:* it is desired by an overwhelming majority of the Council (1651 Yes and 242 conditional Yes against 99 No); to the Jews as to no other religious community does Christendom—regardless of political and pseudo-theological arguments—owe it to make good the past; the Nazi anti-Semitism would not have been possible without the latent and, only too often, virulent anti-Semitism of Christendom through the centuries;

3. a positive attitude on *birth control:* the latest discussions in moral theology all lead in the same direction, i.e., that the rigorous position held hitherto is no longer tenable, and that the number of children can be left to neither the arbitrariness of man (e.g., grasping after a higher standard of living and therefore no children) nor to the providence of God alone ("God will provide!"); it must be left to the personal responsibility of the individual who must form his own judgment concerning the various methods (pills, etc.) in accordance with his own conscience and according to medical and psychological principles; a papal commission has already prepared the groundwork for a position;

4. a canonical regulation of the *question of mixed marriages:* recognition of the validity of mixed marriages which are not performed in a Catholic church, lifting of the corresponding excommunications and the encouragement of Catholic baptism and upbringing, as far as possible; a good decree has been produced by a papal commission, but has not yet been published;

5. a serious *reform of the Curia:* the bases of such a reform in the spirit of collegiality, internationalization and decentralization can be found in the schema *On the Pastoral Duties of the Bishops,* which had not been finally ratified at the end of the third session.

It will be said that many other problems which have been discussed at the Council—e.g., the development and training of the clergy, the question of missions, the problems of religious, etc.—are at least indirectly as important as the problems named. It cannot be denied, however, that, for the man in the street, these other problems have nothing like the significance of those indicated above. Whether the Council can overcome the opposition and obstruction in regard to these problems and enforce its own will is of decisive significance for world opinion. These questions are primarily concerned with the needs and hopes of modern man, and a disappointment will be unavoidable if genuine answers are not given.

The Spirit of Aggiornamento

In any case, the question will remain: . . . and after the Council? Technical, scientific, industrial, social, political and general intellectual developments are so rapid today that what previously required centuries is now achieved in years. What is open to the present Council ought not to be overestimated. Even with good results, a Council is less able today than ever to master the problems of tomorrow and the day after. The reforms already ratified will inevitably give rise to further problems. Therefore the question: After the Council, What? Should the answer be: another Council!?

The regular convening of Councils is, in principle, a real possibility. The Council of Constance solemnly ratified the regular convening of ecumenical councils and even prescribed the intervals; except for one convocation, however, the decree was not carried out. But is a regular convening of ecumenical councils practicable? Would it be practicable to convene a council every three to five years? In the modern Church just as in the modern state, fundamental decisions must be made *every* year and the necessary accommodations (*aggiornamento!*) to new situations and developments must be carried out continually. Only in this way can dangerous intellectual obstructions such as those which existed before Vatican II, as well as the correspondingly violent, almost revolutionary eruptions be avoided.

Even if the next council does not take place for another hundred years, an annual gathering of the 2500 bishops from the entire world, as has been the case in the last few years, is practically excluded as a possibility. It is not necessary that the Council go on as a continuing institution. It is necessary that the spirit of the Council continue. *It Must Not Die.* In order that the conciliar spirit not die, in order that a certain conciliar structure be retained in the Church (which is, after all, a human society), certain institutions are necessary. The concrete realization of the collegiality of pope and bishops, which has been solemnly established by the Council, is of the greatest significance for the continuation of the conciliar spirit.

The Council has learned by painful experience the difficulty of enforcing its will *during* the sessions. The difficulty was even greater *between* the sessions. It will be greatest *after* the Council. Is it difficult to

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understand why so many bishops have serious misgivings about the post-conciliar period: How easy it is to weaken the decrees of the Council by the granting of dispensations and privileges, to water them down by obtuse formal interpretations, to torpedo them by simple passivity, to make them appear absurd by a too literal interpretation and the obstruction of further progress.

A return to the earlier absolute form of church government (a relic of the *ancien régime*) is impossible. It would plunge the Catholic Church into a serious crisis and stand in contradiction to the letter and spirit of the Council's decrees on the collegiality of the pope and bishops. The past has demonstrated that a remote and isolated central administration cannot deal constructively with the worldwide and highly varied problems of the whole Church. Despite all of its particular failures, the Council has shown what an uncommonly positive effect follows upon the inclusion of the whole Church (with its many-sided experiences and perspectives) at the highest level of church government.

It is surprising enough that the Catholic Church, in particular, has not yet adopted the experiences of the modern democracies; especially since the Church was anything but an autocratic and absolute monarchy in its beginnings. One need only think of the place of the church communities and the other apostles alongside Peter (e.g., the Council of Jerusalem) as presented in the Acts of the Apostles, not to mention the more charismatic Pauline communities. Nothing has done more harm to the Petrine office in its long history than this style of absolute monarchy. The loss of ties to the eastern and reformed churches, as well as much rigidity in many places within the Catholic Church, is related to this. On the other hand, nothing has been so helpful in the last few years to the renewal and lessening of rigidity within the Catholic Church, the inter-confessional understanding and drawing together and the Petrine office itself than the attitude of service and collegiality with which John XXIII led the Church.

Even in Rome today, many perceive the usefulness of the Council and the necessity of a collegial church government. It would be false to see the Roman Curia as the monolithic image of reaction. There are also many in the Curia who see the harmful developments of the past as well as the hopeful possibilities of the present. It must not be forgotten that Pope Paul VI himself, in his notable address to the Curia on September 21, 1963, not only afforded protection to the Curia's critics, but emphasized the necessity of a renewal of the ecclesiastical structures and promised such a renewal: "It will be seen, that the striving for a modernization of the legal structures and the deepening of the spiritual awareness will not only find no opposition insofar as it touches the center of the Church, the Roman Curia, but that the Curia itself will take the lead in the ongoing renewal, which the Church as a human and earthly institution always needs." The Pope made two distinct promises:

1. Decentralization and simplification: "It is easy to see that several reforms must be effected in the Roman Curia and they are, therefore, desirable. Many years have passed. It is reasonable that such an order has much to bear under the burden of its venerable age, that it feels both the inappropriateness of its agencies and methods for the needs and the situation of the present time and the necessity for simplification, decentralization, for expansion and preparedness for new tasks. Various reforms will, thus, be necessary."

2 Internationalization and ecumenical development: "Therefore, the Roman Curia will not fear being assembled according to further supranational criteria and being formed by a better ecumenical training . . . The Roman Curia will not be jealous of worldly privileges of other eras or of external forms which are no longer suitable in order to demonstrate and emphasize religious values which are high and true. And it will not raise disputes about its authority, which—without harm to the general ecclesiastical order—can be exercised better today by the episcopate directly *in situ*. Bureaucratic purposes and advantages will never tip the scales in favor of reluctance or defensiveness on the part of agencies of the Holy See if they are not required by ecclesiastical order and the salvation of souls."

If all of this were carried through (as is most certainly the urgent desire of the whole Council), a great deal would have been done toward keeping the spirit of the Council alive after the Council. But the most important has not yet been mentioned. In order to keep the spirit of the Council alive, the establishment of an institution is decisive: the episcopal Council.

After the Episcopal Council

The Pope himself promised the establishment of an Episcopal Council in the event that the Council desired it: "It is a sacrosanct rule for the offices of the Roman Curia to consult the bishops and to make use of their judgment in the transaction of its business. Many of the bishops who serve as consultors to the congregations come from a variety of places. We should like to go further: If the Ecumenical Council wishes

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to see some representatives of the episcopacy, particularly bishops heading dioceses, associated in some way and for some questions in conformity with the doctrine of the Church and canon law, with the supreme head of the Church in the study and responsibility of ecclesiastical government, it will certainly not be the Roman Curia that will oppose the suggestion. The Curia would see it rather as an increase of honor and responsibility to the high and irreplaceable service, which—apart from the necessary activity of the ecclesiastical tribunals for the Roman Curia and in the dioceses—is specifically administrative, advisory and executive, as We well know."

The establishment of an Episcopal Council, which, acting as a standing committee, could equally well carry out the tasks of the Ecumenical Council until next Council, is undoubtedly the urgent desire of the Second Vatican Council. The bishops come back to this postulate continually; it has been expressed clearly in the aula by various outstanding representatives of the episcopate. The overwhelming vote which was given in favor of the schema *On the Pastoral Duties of Bishops* is unequivocal in this regard. This schema contains a fundamental paragraph concerning the establishment of an Episcopal Council. At the first reading it was accepted with a vote of 1582 Yes and 469 conditional Yes against 15 No. There is no doubt that the schema will be accepted by an overwhelming majority at the second reading, even if many bishops fear that further maneuvers and obstructions are to be expected in this very matter.

This, however, is decisive: Only a *genuine* Episcopal Council can fulfill its duties in keeping with a collegial direction of the Church. This means, in effect: merely to broaden the College of Cardinals would not bring about a genuine Episcopal Council, although some outstanding cardinals would naturally be members of the Episcopal Council (the Council is indebted to these very men for a large part of its success). What, then, are the differences between the College of Cardinals and a genuine Episcopal Council? The fundamental difference is that the College of Cardinals is an instrument of the Pope, appointed by the Pope, while the Episcopal Council would represent the whole Church (or the entire episcopate) in the collegial exercise of the supreme direction of the Church together with the Pope. The College of Cardinals—a relatively young, purely canonical organization—grew out of the local Roman clergy and has become gradually significant for the whole Church only since the 11th-12th centuries, when it was granted the right to elect the popes; only since the 12th century have there been occasional non-residential cardinals. The comment on the latest appointments to the College of Cardinals having shown much obscurity, this fundamental difference must be made quite definite.

The Conditions

In order to speak of a genuine Episcopal Council, the following conditions must be met:

1. The members of the Episcopal Council must be elected by the individual conferences of bishops for *fixed periods of time.* The Cardinals are created by the Pope and he addresses them as *"Filii,* children, sons," not as *"Fratres,* brothers" as he addresses the bishops. In a genuine Episcopal Council, the members would be elected by the various national or continental bishops' conferences. They would represent the various national episcopacies (without, of course, being subject to directions) and give them, indirectly, a part in the responsibility for the whole Church; individual members —in order to preserve a clear separation between the legislative and the executive, preferably not Curial officials—could also be appointed personally by the Pope (cf., Council commissions). By means of election for limited periods (e.g., 3-6 years), the members' sense of responsibility to their own churches would be strengthened, the frequently criticized superannuated character of the church leadership (cf. the Council's practically fruitless discussion of the maximum age of bishops) would be avoided and the urgently required rejuvenation achieved (among the new Cardinals created at the last consistory there were: under 50 years of age: one; between 50-60: four; between 60-70: ten; between 70-80: nine; between 80-90: three). The limited time in office would permit the election of relatively young bishops, without the fear that they would conceivably then remain in office for 50-60 years.

2. The members of the Episcopal Council must be elected *proportionately from all nations and continents.* The anachronistic predominance of Italy survives in the College of Cardinals. Even if the number of Italians has decreased, they have *de facto,* if not *de jure,* the necessary third of the votes (with the actual support of others) to prevent a papal election (according to the last consistory, the numbers were: 7 French, 7 Spanish, 6 American, 4 German, 4 Brazilian, 3 Canadian, 2 each for Argentina, Belgium, Great Britain, Ireland, Lebanon, 1 each for a few other nations; as compared to 32 Italians). In the Episcopal Council, the members would be elected from the various nations and continents according to a just formula, in which the number of Catholics as well as the importance of a continent

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(e.g., Asia) would be significant. The special, personal competence of the persons concerned should be the criterion, not the antiquity of the episcopal see, etc. In this way, the experiences and needs of all the churches could become effective in the center of the whole Church. The predominance of *one* nation in the Episcopal Council would contradict the catholicity of the Church.

3. The Episcopal Council would have to convene *periodically*. Apart from the period of *interregnum* after the death of a pope, the College of Cardinals convenes only sporadically and only if and when it is called by the pope (admittedly the 12th to the 16th centuries—the period of the College's great influence on the direction of the church— it convened regularly three times, later twice, a week). The Episcopal Council would have to meet regularly, once or twice a year (e.g., for a spring or fall session). Only in this way could the *continual* adaptation of the Church to the needs of the times be guaranteed, as well as avoiding the Episcopal Council's becoming a mere ornament, to be convened when it appeared opportune.

4. The Episcopal Council would, together with the pope, have to have *legislative power* and, therefore, be superior to the Curia: the College of Cardinals has no legislative power today. It is, to some extent, identical with the Curia (through the predominance of the curial cardinals resident in Rome). The consistory, which, in the 12th to 16th centuries, was the most important advisory and legislative body, is now no more than a solemn forum for papal allocutions and the routine approval of administrative ordinances; the question "*quid vobis videtur*" and the expected answer "*placet*" are legally insignificant. The Episcopal Council, in contrast, together with the pope, would have to be the actual legislative organ for the whole Church, having the right to a decisive, rather than merely advisory, function in the most important questions of the supreme direction of the Church. In this way, the Curia would again be the executive body, which, according to the words of the pope himself, it has to be: a body "of a specifically administrative, advisory and executive nature."

The realization of a genuine Episcopal Council, as outlined here on the basis of the courageous papal statements, would be a strong support for the pope in his terribly heavy task and a true blessing for the Church in a disturbed time. The Church's catholicity would be developed and, at the same time, its unity would be strengthened. The fraternal, collegial foundation of the Church, going back to its beginnings, would be brought to light in a convincing and effective manner. The most important practical goal of the Council, seen in terms of the immediate and more distant future, would have been achieved, the fear of renewal stagnation removed and the hope for a continuing renewal of the Church in the modern world reawakened and established.

If there is an Episcopal Council and a genuine Episcopal Council, it does not really matter how many decrees are ratified by the last session of the Council. Serious misgivings for the period after the Council are, in any case, well founded, if no Episcopal Council or no genuine Episcopal Council is established.

Pragmatists and Utopians

THE NEW RADICALISM

MICHAEL HARRINGTON

Suddenly, everybody is talking about radicalism. Mass magazines like *Newsweek* and the *Saturday Evening Post* attempt to anatomize the "new left"; Harry Reasoner narrates an hour-long television documentary on rebels at Berkeley; and the 1965 commencement orators seemed to talk about nothing but sitting-in. The immediate cause of all this public concern is clear enough. From Montgomery in 1955 through the lunchrooms of 1960 and the Mississippi summer of 1964, the Civil Rights movement has presented a new inspiration to American society and particularly to the youth. The result has not been limited to the issue of race. There has also been a vast outpouring of direct action energy on questions like Vietnam, the Dominican Republic,

MICHAEL HARRINGTON, *whose book,* The Other America, *helped to focus the nation's attention on our "invisible poor," is the author of* The Accidental Century (*Macmillan*).

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the House Un-American Activities Committee – and even in defense of the right to smoke marijuana.

Thus far, this radicalism has been chronicled journalistically and there have been few attempts to analyze it in the context of American society and history. Christopher Lasch's *The New Radicalism in America, 1889-1963* (Alfred A. Knopf, $6.95) provides at least a point of departure for such a discussion. The main themes of the book are, as I will try to establish in a moment, confused and not at all adequate to an ambitious overview of more than sixty years of American life. Yet, Mr. Lasch does pose many of the right questions and problems, his biographical sketches are often informative and his political prejudices strike me as fairly close to my own.

I therefore propose to treat *The New Radicalism* both as a book to be commented upon and as a springboard for some speculating and generalizing. And, to anticipate a conclusion, Mr. Lasch's analysis demonstrates an ambiguity which he himself does not notice: that the root critic of the society is condemned, at best, to an uncomfortable tension between integrity and impotence, flexibility and betrayal.

Part of the confusion in Mr. Lasch's book is that he is imprecise about what the "new radicalism" really is. "The main argument of this book," he writes, "is that *modern* radicalism or liberalism can best be understood as a phase in the social history of the intellectuals . . . the rise of the new radicalism coincided with the emergence of the intellectual as a distinctive social type." The method of *The New Radicalism* is to examine the political odyssies of a group of intellectuals ranging from Jane Addams to Norman Mailer. At the very outset one notes that Mr. Lasch sees radicalism and liberalism as interchangeable; yet in point of American history during the period 1889 to 1963, the radicals and the liberals were often on opposite sides of crucial issues. And here, I think, is a symptomatic example of the basic flaw in Lasch's analysis. He studies American radicalism in terms of a few personalities but largely without reference to the tumultuous social history in which they lived.

There is an old tradition in this country, dating back to the famous labor historian, Selig Perlman, which argues that middle-class intellectuals, not workers, were the source of trade union and labor radicalism. There has been a lively debate on this question. I think Perlman was wrong, but, in any case, one cannot simply *assume* that he was right. And that essentially is what *The New Radicalism* does. In this study of radicalism there is no real mention of the Debsian socialist movement, the IWW, the one third of the votes which Socialist Max Hayes received at the AFL Convention of 1912, the Bolshevik Revolution and the fateful split which it provoked on the American (and world-wide) Left, the rise of industrial unionism in the CIO, etc., etc.

As a result of treating the "new radicals" in the ideological and psychological sphere, but not in terms of their relation to the rank and file radicals, Lasch misses the fundamental dialectic of the American radical experience. For what the radical can do, and a large part of what he does do, is determined precisely by the presence or absence of a mass force for social change. It is this popular history more than deductions from philosophic principles which is the context of radical accomplishments, hopes, despairs and betrayals. For example, were there no militant Negro movement today, I suspect that there would not be much of a student movement and there would be, among other things, less interest in Mr. Lasch's book. It is extraordinary how much we articulate people owe to some Mississippi and Alabama sharecroppers whose names we will never know.

The Two Camps

Mr. Lasch's "new radicalism" is, then, basically unhistorical. It is, rather, constructed out of a series of intellectual themes which Lasch follows through his various biographies. With his analysis thus largely abstracted from the times, he explains either too little or too much.

Perhaps the most coherent attempt at a definition of the "new radicalism" is made during the discussion of Norman Mailer at the very end of the book. In Mailer, Lasch writes, "the new radicalism achieved some kind of final and definitive statement. The confusion of power and art, the effort to liberate the social and psychological 'underground' by means of political action, the fevered pursuit of experience, the conception of life as an experience, the intellectual's identification of himself with the outcasts of society . . ." In his own analysis Lasch leans most heavily on two of these ideas: that the new radicals, from the turn of the century on, were bedeviled by a pragmatist anti-intellectualism; and that, at the same time, they mistook political and economic categories for cultural, moral, and even metaphysical, principles.

Unquestionably, the pragmatist strain has played a major role in American radicalism—but not a simple role. As Arthur Lipow has pointed out, there is a sense in which the soul of the American Left was divided as far back as the 1890's. On the one hand, there were those, like Bellamy, who sought Utopia in the name of

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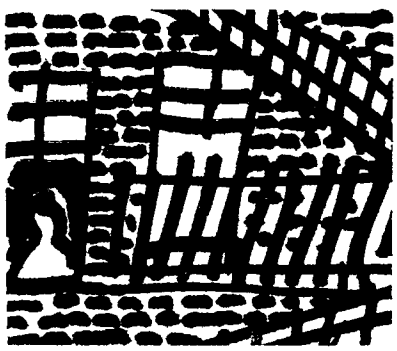
efficiency. They were outraged that capitalism was so wasteful. On the other hand, there were those, like Debs, for whom socialism was primarily the emancipation of the people and only secondarily a plan and system of production. They were outraged that capitalism degraded people. The efficiency Utopias had many variants: Veblen's was one, Lincoln Steffens' support of Communist totalitarianism on the grounds that it "worked" was another. In each of these cases there is obviously something of the pragmatist spirit.

But there was a pragmatism on the Debsian side, too. If Steffens used a pragmatic criterion to support dictatorship, John Dewey, working very much in the pragmatist tradition, found there the basis for a deep commitment to democracy and opposition to totalitarianism. For that matter, it was precisely one of the achievements of Debsian socialism that its immediate demands of 1912 so enriched American political life and laid the basis for reforms which have now been realized. But for Lasch, the heritage of pragmatism is not so complex. He quotes Benjamin Ginzburg approvingly: pragmatism "represents the anti-intellectualism of the American intellectual, who is overawed by the practical sweep of American life."

Something like this proposition is at the bottom of Lasch's basic biographical and psychological method. He describes his radical intellectuals as alienated from the culture of the middle class. This, he argues, tended to make them hostile, not simply to the old values, but to intellect itself. There thus developed a tendency whereby the intellectual submitted to the iron laws of history or to the will of the people. In this pragmatic accommodation, the radical "sells out" and forgets his principles.

But here again is an illustration of the danger of creating radicalism apart from radical history. In 1905, for instance, it was truly radical for the industrial unionists to form the IWW and challenge the entire society. But in 1935 or so, the IWW should have "accommodated" to the reality of John L. Lewis and the CIO. In so doing, they would have gotten much less than the totality of their syndicalist principles; but, and this is crucial, they would have been joining a living, breathing mass movement of people who were changing at least part of the society through industrial unionism. There are, in short, times when the intellectual should stand against history and times when he should follow it. And the decisive criterion has to do with the possibilities the millions seize, not with the principles of pragmatism.

Lasch's analysis of pragmatism is related to another point which he says is even more central: that the American radicals confuse politics with culture. On the one hand, he argues, this led to the "pragmatic" reduction of art into a "weapon" for social change and to manipulative, anti-intellectual conceptions of education "for" citizenship. On the other hand, there were intellectuals who took out for the other extreme, seeking non-political choices and absolutes amid the shifting realities of politics. Both of Lasch's points have their obvious analytic value: both of the errors he describes occur in the twentieth-century history of American radicalism. But then, Lasch goes well beyond his solidly based insight and ridicules Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., for having argued in the Fifties that the quality of American life was a proper object of politics.



And here, Lasch—unwittingly, I suspect—becomes a most unradical elitist. As Raymond Williams brilliantly demonstrated in his *Culture and Society*, the great mass of people in modern, industrial nations have never been given access to high culture. That is to say, their education is systematically arranged to make them mass men and after they turn out that way, the arrangers excoriate them for their lack of taste. Art is not a weapon, and politics should not be turned into substitute for metaphysics or religion: but the quality of society's cultural life is indeed, as Schlesinger rightly argued, a major political question of the day.

So, while there are elements in Mr. Lasch's theorizing that are quite relevant to the American radical experience—pragmatism has indeed on occasion led to disastrous results, and the confusion of politics and culture can end up at the expense of both art and society—by not relating his analysis to the rank and file radicals, to people, Mr. Lasch misses one of the most fundamental determinants of American radicalism; he omits the context in which his biographies, psychologies and ideologies function.

Cold War Retreat

At this point, let me turn from the actual argument of *The New Radicalism* and use the book as a spring-

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board for a more speculative discussion. One of the most disturbing questions which Mr. Lasch raises is that of the retreat of a good many intellectuals in the face of Cold War reaction in the early 1950's.

I suspect there is a personal element in my desire to take up this point. Although I am only five years older than Mr. Lasch, that difference qualifies me to remember the early Fifties as part of my own political experience (it is a sad feeling to discover that one has lived through days which younger scholars now treat as history). In those times, I was an ardent "third camp" critic of both Communist and American imperialism (I still am), a defender of the rights of Communists (quite often in the pages of COMMONWEAL), and a conscientious objector in the Korean War. The people whom Lasch takes to task for their accommodation to the Cold War were my political opponents; some still are. Even so, they, too, have the right to be seen in the context of their times.

It is true, as Lasch argues, that some of the intellectuals at that time refused, say, to defend the civil liberties of Communists because they had made their own peace with power. It is also true that there were others who projected the East-West struggle into a battle of metaphysical principles and who, by seeing Communism as totally evil and without any possibility of internal opposition and movement, came to be less and less critical of the West. There were such styles of thought, such political tragedies.

But then, one must place those wrong, sometimes terribly wrong, decisions in their human and temporal context. Some of those who became Cold Warriors from the Left had gone through a desperate personal experience with Communism. They had come to their theory, and rejection, of Communist totalitarianism as tortured activists, not as social scientists. One of the most unfortunate results of this fact was what Bernard Rosenberg called "couch liberalism," the expiation of the guilt of a previous association with Communism through a most vociferous anti-Communism. And it seems to me that this personal dimension is as important to what happened as the relation of American radicalism to the pragmatist tradition. It is here that I wish Mr. Lasch would have insisted on his biographical method more.

From the post-Khrushchev, post-Moscow Treaty retrospect of 1965, it is easy to understand that Communist totalitarianism is not the utter monolith that some (for instance, Hannah Arendt in *The Origins of Totalitarianism*) thought it to be and to realize that therefore it is not only completely necessary, but even possible, to avoid World War III. In the early 1950's, these propositions were not so clear. Communism was in its late Stalinist, psychotic phase; the American commander in Korea was an advocate of "victory" through bombing China; the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in 1954 wanted to use nuclear weapons to save the French in Indo-China. There were some who drew Cold War conclusions from these premises because they had been co-opted into the status quo. But there were others who did so reluctantly, sadly. I debated them and if I still think them wrong, honestly, many of them should nevertheless be understood as something much better than self-seeking mandarins.

Commitment or Alienation

Finally, let me take up one of Mr. Lasch's points which may well help to focus all of these various comments. The author of *The New Radicalism* sets up a counterposition of "commitment" (accommodation to power) and "alienation" (principled ineffectiveness). This is, I take it, another version of the famous antinomy of the "ethic of responsibility" and the "ethic of ultimate ends" which Max Weber was among the first to define.

Schlesinger is one of Lasch's examples of commitment. As noted before, his main charge is, curiously, that Schlesinger commits the confusion of politics and culture and was thus taken in by the Kennedy "chic" (which, Lasch argues, is all that the Kennedy culture ever was). Leaving aside this analysis with its misunderstanding of Schlesinger's remarks on the quality of life, a few comments are in order.

First, it is hardly surprising that Schlesinger, a *liberal* supporter of the President, gladly accepted the opportunity to work with a liberal President. Secondly, the Kennedy Administration most certainly did not propose or effect basic changes in this country and I assume that no radical expected it to do so. But it opened many windows, provided many points of departure and developed a domestic legislative program of such sweep that Lyndon Johnson is still living off part of it today.

In short, the Kennedy Administration was by liberal standards a success which liberals could support wholeheartedly; and by radical standards a marked improvement over the Eisenhower Fifties. It was an administration which, if it did not provide profound answers, had the merit of raising profound questions. Under such circumstances, there is no need for an involved explanation of why a liberal, like Schlesinger, was an ardent partisan of Kennedy's.

Then there is Mailer. I think Lasch is much too quick in writing his obituary for Mailer's genius which is anything but dead. But leaving the literary criticism aside, is Mailer, like Schlesinger, wrong to talk about the

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quality—Mailer would say the psychology—of so much of American life? Is this one more case of the intellectual seeking a total salvation in a relative world of politics and does it inexorably lead to the margin, to the fringes, where Lasch consigns Mailer? I think not. Precisely because businessmen are now becoming Keynesians, because power and authority are becoming more and more sophisticated, the issue of quantity is no longer the only and decisive one. By fits and starts and in the worst possible way they will eventually feed everybody. But how? By a dole, by an increase in welfare dependency, by creating a poverty-less Brave New World?

The point is, precisely, that the radical cannot content himself any longer with the necessary advocacy of massive social investments to create full employment and a better human environment. He must also be concerned about the design of the housing at least as much as about the fact of the housing. He must realize—and here the Bellamy-Debs distinction is most relevant—that there is a patronizing, bureaucratic, top-down way of dealing with social problems, and a self-emancipatory, freedom provoking, bottom-up way. We could vastly expand our social custodial care of people; or we could try to make a new society. And the issue of the quality of life is not an irrelevance in terms of these particular options.

There is a commitment-alienation polarity and I suspect that there is no way out of it. Sometimes, if people are not in movement, if there are not even first steps which are possible, the radical is obliged to seek his own alienation. That was so during the early Fifties; it could become so again if the Vietnam war escalates much further. And sometimes, particularly if people have begun to move or there is the opportunity for them to do so, the radical must brave semi-commitments. Thus, the Kennedy-Johnson social legislation does not provide an adequate response to the problems which it defines, but it does provide a point of departure, an opening in the right direction both in terms of politics and the mobilization of people. And, in its concentration on biography and ideology, *The New Radicalism* misses the ambiguity of the radical who must exist in mid-air between sectarian irrelevance and successful betrayal. And what defines the radical possibilities, today as yesterday, is not a style of thought or an intellectual trend. It is people in movement.

THE END OF THE NEWMAN 'CLUB'

A new importance, a new direction

RICHARD BUTLER

Over 1200 delegates meet in convention this week in New York to consider mutual problems, evaluate their work and plan future programs. Such gatherings are regular occurrences in Manhattan and in every other metropolitan city in the U. S. Ordinarily they stir little interest and receive scant attention outside of their own conference and hospitality rooms. This conclave, however, has historical and transitional significance and affects nearly a million Catholics in higher education directly and immediately, to say nothing of indirect and long-range effects, personal and cultural, on all of us in the future.

This is the Golden Jubilee Congress of the Newman Apostolate, marking the first fifty years of "the work of the Church in the secular academic community"—as Newman leaders now ambitiously define their task.

This work has come a long way in a short time, for much of its real progress has been accomplished in the past decade. The whole character of the Church in secular higher education has recently undergone drastic and dramatic changes. Notice, for example, that this is a "Newman Apostolate Congress" rather than the "Newman Club Convention" of yesteryear (two years ago, to be precise). The old club concept, with its clannish and second-rate social significance, has gone. So has the holy hooplah of Catholic students in rowdy convention. This is a *congress* of connected associations of Catholics in these schools, faculty and staff members as well as students and alumni, and they confer together this week on the ecumenical theme "That All May Be One." During the past year they have explored the very pertinent theme of "The Church in Transition."

FATHER RICHARD BUTLER, O.P., *Provincial Director of the Dominican Fathers' Newman Apostolate, is the author of* God On The Secular Campus (*Doubleday*).

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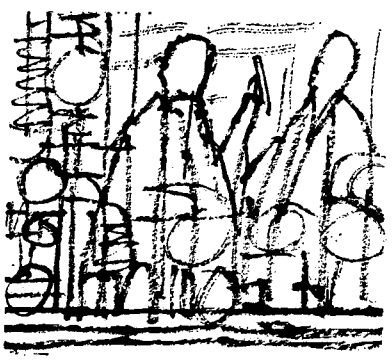
Appropriately, the Jubilee Congress meets in New York where the first federation of Catholic students in secular colleges was formed from existing "Catholic Clubs" at eleven schools in the area in 1915. The following year the federation held its first convention at Cliff Haven near Lake Champlain with 20 clubs represented. (Over 900 organizations will be represented at this fiftieth gathering.)

These beginnings had a strong cultural character, for they were the work of scholars, of graduate students and faculty members. The corruption that turned many "Newman Clubs" into inferior social ghettos for rejected undergraduates came much later. And only now, in this decade of change, is the social-reject character of these groups disappearing in the shaken-off dust of the Church's transition.



The first Catholic student organization to adopt the patronal name of John Henry Newman was formed by five medical students at the University of Pennsylvania in 1893. Their announced intention was not "to make us clannish or narrow us in a religious sense." They said: ". . . it is our purpose to have eminent Catholic lecturers, particularly graduates of the University, address us." Hopefully they added: "It is bound to improve us mentally, spiritually and socially." Their first major program was the sponsorship of a lecture in the University Chapel by Rt. Rev. John J. Keane, then Rector of The Catholic University of America and later Archbishop of Dubuque. He spoke to a large assembly of students and faculty members on "The Outcome of Philosophic Thought." (An interesting and unchanging condition of Catholic organizations: with only $4.50 in the treasury, members had to take up a collection among themselves to offer their speaker a fifty-dollar stipend.)

For a number of years following the federation of these groups, the president and other major officers of the expanding organization were faculty members, not students. Among themselves, emanating from the pioneer University of Pennsylvania group, they produced a creditable academic journal called *Newman Quarterly*. This publication died in the early Twenties but will be revived in 1966 as "an intercommunication journal for Catholic academicians" by the present Association of Catholic Faculty and Staff Members, a new and developing segment of the National Newman Apostolate.

Catholics in secular schools of higher learning in the U. S. were few during the early part of this century. Even so, the specter of "secular contamination" hovered over fearful Catholic school educators and stirred opposition to the struggling Newman movement. The fourth annual convention of the National Catholic Educational Association in 1907 considered the "alarming number" of 8,671 Catholic students in secular colleges and universities. (The figure estimated for the past school year, 1964-65, was over 800,000). In the heated discussion which followed this report, Father C. J. Meyer, S.J., complained of the "deplorable fact" of so many Catholics in these schools and quoted the Archbishop of New York disapproving "fraternization" with secular educators and protesting "the establishment of halls and chapels and libraries, with frequent lectures and conferences on the university grounds or in connection with the university."

Debates Reached Feverish Pitch

During the Twenties Father John A. O'Brien had to defend his establishment of the Newman Foundation as an accredited school of religion at the University of Illinois. His debates with Catholic school educators reached a feverish pitch in the pages of *America* magazine during 1925-26. Even the editors voiced their disapproval of what they called an "undue extension of the Newman Club idea into the educational field of those institutions." Archbishop Michael J. Curley went so far as to charge Father O'Brien's supporters with "waging a secret hypocritical warfare against the best interests of the Church in America."

The Thirties brought the disillusioned children of the depression on to college campuses. Cynics and radicals in academic communities may have been fewer than suspected, but their strident voices were loud enough to be heard by nervous critics who caricatured the secular campus as "a hot-bed of socialism and atheism." Catholic educators were concerned more than ever over the "dangers to faith and morals" in these schools. In one of his popular pamphlets of the period, Father Dan Lord warned Bill and Jane about these dangers and counselled them to choose a Catholic college if they wanted to keep their faith and preserve their moral integrity.

Nearly all Newman chaplains were then assigned

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part-time to these campuses to provide minimal pastoral care and a question box type of educational program. Chapels or centers were few and far between. Catholic groups met in a borrowed classroom or in the basement of a nearby parish church. A bishop of this period said of Catholics on secular campuses in his diocese: "I look after them as I do Catholic prisoners in our jails. It's the same thing: taking care of people who shouldn't be there."

This kind of episcopal attitude changed after World War II when state college enrollments began to boom. Veterans, with federal scholarship aids, went back to school to get needed degrees for coveted careers. They were a serious breed, these post-war collegians, and were bent more on recovering lost values than on initiating cultural changes. In this climate of orthodoxy and stability, with more and more Catholic students taking advantage of less expensive, tax-supported schools, the Newman movement developed and spread on these campuses. Earlier, in 1938, a National Newman Club Federation was incorporated into the Youth Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

Credit for this limited success of official recognition should go to the first National Chaplain of Newman work, Father John Keough of Philadelphia. Between 1916 and 1938 he was like an old-time circuit rider and propagandist with a cause, traveling all over the U. S. to contact bishops and school officials and to encourage struggling Newman organizations. His letters, laboriously written in long hand, often went on to 15 or 20 pages. He remained an active elder statesman in the work until his death in 1960.

Recognition Became Imperative

The decade between 1950 and 1960 witnessed such a rise of Catholic enrollment in secular colleges and universities that the need of expanding the Newman program into a recognized major apostolic work of the Church became imperative. The formation of distinct segments within the movement (associations of chaplains, students, alumni, faculty and staff, honorees, along with a national foundation to raise and distribute needed funds for national programs) resulted in their unification in 1960 into the National Newman Apostolate.

Since then episcopal concern has been evident in the flurry of building programs to provide adequate facilities for the Church's involvement in higher education outside of its own administration. During the past decade full-time chaplains and Newman Center buildings have more than doubled: in 1955 there were 100 priests assigned full time to Newman work and 80 center buildings on as many campuses; in 1965 there are 250 full-time chaplains and 203 centers.

Statistical facts have to be faced. Of 1,210,000 Catholics attending colleges and universities this year, more than 820,000 were enrolled in secular institutions. The latter figure is expected to jump to one million by 1970, two million by 1985. By 1985, according to a Ford Foundation study prepared by the American Association of Colleges, only 20% of all college students will be in private schools and 80% in public schools. Catholics in secular colleges and universities outnumber those in Catholic institutions more than two to one at present; the ratio will reach four to one by 1985. The Church must go where our Catholic students are in such overwhelming numbers to transmit her light and life; to ignore them, or neglect them, ostrich-like, would incur the responsibility of a tragic loss of Catholic leadership in the future.

"By what curious logic," asked Archbishop Paul J. Hallinan of Atlanta of the College and University Section of the NCEA two years ago, "have we omitted [these students] for so many decades as the legitimate concern of Catholic education?" They "are Catholics" and "they are engaged in the process of learning at the level of higher education." Catholic education, he suggested, should be redefined as the education of Catholics in whatever schools they are attending.

Educational opportunites for the Church in secular higher education are at an all-time high in this era of ecumenical rapport between the Church and secular society. Chairs of Catholic Studies have been established at Harvard, Yale, Brown and the University of California, with a dozen other prominent universities, including state schools, considering similar programs. The extension, direct or indirect, of accreditation of Catholic courses offered in Newman Centers is expanding as a practice in state schools. The urgent need in this area is for competent lay theologians, understandably preferred by secular school administrators over the inclusion of clerical teachers in their faculties.

Place, Personnel and Program

The Church must become visible in the secular academic community. No Newman program can be very effective unless Catholics on campus have their own chapel for liturgical life and their own center for education, formation and the development of social responsibility. Of the 203 centers now established on or near these campuses only 90 can be termed "good" or "adequate; the other 113 are called "makeshift" or "temporary." And 1,069 schools still have no facilities.

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The financial problem of raising funds to construct and maintain these centers is new and unique. As Bishop Morkovsky of Houston recently pointed out: "Parishes have supported their own grade schools and religious communities, for the most part, have had the burden of supporting our educational efforts on the high school and college level. Newman support poses a brand new problem of regular financing to the diocese." His solution, adopted by many other American bishops, is to give Newman operations top priority, second only to seminary support, in diocesan development fund programs.

Newman chaplains are overworked, dissipating their talents and energies in far too many directions. They need help, more personnel. No diocese can afford to assign a number of priests to a single college campus, especially when they may have, and they often do, a dozen or more large schools to serve within the diocese.

Religious communities can help and are assisting in this work, notably Paulists, Dominicans and Benedictines. Others do so to a lesser degree (Franciscans, Holy Ghost Fathers, Redemptorists); and others are beginning to this year (Claretians and Holy Cross Fathers). The Jesuits, heavily committed to their own schools, are pretty much limited to a few "teaching in" situations which do not make administrative demands on them.

Sisters are now in the work, with initial enthusiasm and reported success. There are about 15 on Newman assignments full-time and 10 part-time. At the Newman Chaplains' Training School this year at the University of Colorado—the first and most urgently needed national program to be subsidized by the National Newman Foundation—54 priests and six nuns prepared for Newman assignments together.

The greatest need is for more lay involvement—not only occasional assistance from Serra men, the Knights of Columbus and the Christian Family Movement, all of whom have generously assisted and plan to extend their efforts—but from volunteers on a full-time year-or-more basis. Extension Lay Volunteers had 16 of their members on Newman staffs this year. A hundred times that many could be used on campuses throughout the U. S.

The problem of programming is an internal concern of the entire Newman Apostolate: to discover and employ the most effective techniques of education and formation specifically designed for the special circumstances of the secular academic and social environment. Experiments are going on with varying degrees of success and communicated to and shared by all in the work. Effective programming still depends largely on the ingenuity and creativeness of a Newman director. Those who have been successful have been too busy to compose and promote their own insights and innovations.

Newman people, like other groups in the Church, have had their hand-wringing critics. They only prod greater efforts to progress, even when the adverse criticism is outlandish or unfair, often based on a myopic or out-dated view. (Two years ago a *Time* writer referred to Newman Clubs as "better known for tea dances than theology," a charge more apropos a decade or more ago. At the same time a regular COMMONWEAL contributor woefully declared that "450,000 Catholics on secular campuses have no contact with the Church," which he deduced from naively equating membership in the student organization with the whole Newman effort on campus and forgetting that the majority of students on all American campuses are commuters whose essential contact with the Church is through their home parish.)

The success of Newman activities depends on many factors: adequate facilities, full-time chaplaincies, assisting personnel, attractiveness and solidity of programs, student leadership, faculty involvement, cooperation from the school administration, support from townspeople, the projection of a true center-of-Christian-culture image in the campus community. On some campuses such an ideal center exists and flourishes; on others a weak club organization that lacks such staples and supports has little impact and makes a poor impression on campus Catholics as well as on the whole campus community. Much depends on the vision and provision of individual bishops. The movement has prospered most where the need has been most evident: in the north central, midwestern, southern and southwestern regions of the U.S. It has lagged, conversely, in the east and in large metropolitan areas like New York, Boston and Chicago where Catholic institutions of higher learning have overshadowed the needs of, and for, the Newman Apostolate.

The Newman Apostolate has much to accomplish. In a sense it has only just begun, suddenly coming into focus and invigorated by the fresh insights of the Church in transition. Newman apostles in New York this week, reflecting on the first fifty years, can now feel not only "arrived" but accelerated at a pleasantly breathtaking pace.

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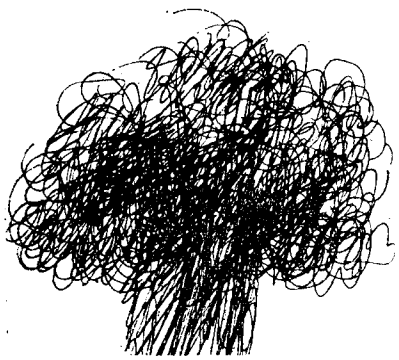

DISARMAMENT INCHES AHEAD

Making the impossible possible

NORMA KRAUSE HERZFELD

Just 34 days before it would have passed into oblivion along with another frantic Washington fiscal year, the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency was given a new three-year lease on life when President Johnson signed the congressional authorization. He had asked for a four-year extension and a $55 million budget. Only after a hard fight did he get three years and $30 million for the agency. To dramatize his quest for peace the ceremony was held in the White House Rose Garden in the presence of the Vice-President, Secretary of State, a congressional delegation and invited delegates from the non-governmental American peace organizations who provided initial stimulus for ACDA and remain, in spite of disappointments at its limited role, its good friends.

If any government agency ever needed friends it is ACDA, for its short life has been no garden of roses and its path is strewn mostly with skeptics and enemies. Although its establishment in 1961 received a respectable vote in Congress, congressional suspicion that it might become a haven for beatniks and unilateral disarmers prompted the legislators to write in extra-tight security requirements. Fears that it would be wasting taxpayers' money on nonsense prompted a statutory budget limit of $10 million annually.

From the beginning it has been a target for the radical right who feel it will strip the U.S. of its military might and leave it naked and unarmed in a harsh world. Congressmen say they receive mail on this subject regularly. Gun lovers, led by sports and gun magazines, crusaded against ACDA charging that it was wrong to violate their Constitutional right and take their guns away. This reached such a crescendo by 1963 that legislators wrote in a specific amendment to ACDA's charter forbidding it to interfere with domestic arms. Hours before President Kennedy's assassination, a congressman actually took the floor to denounce ACDA's threat against U.S. gun-lovers. Since the assassination congressional pressures to regulate the domestic arms race have taken some of the heat off the anti-ACDA campaign, but even at the recent national Young Republican convention many delegates pushed a resolution calling for ACDA abolition.

Supporters originally hoped the agency would "educate" the public about the problems of disarmament and it was indeed assigned the function of "dissemination and coordination of public information concerning arms control and disarmament." But last year, for instance, this amounted only to helping 20,000 high school students in a national debate program on arms control, and agency officials speaking at some 200 public meetings. Even in the latter case, the House Appropriations subcommittee has forbidden ACDA officials to accept out-of-town speaking engagements unless travel expenses are paid by their hosts.

This leaves essentially two main functions to ACDA: conducting U.S. disarmament negotiations and doing research. Times have changed since President Eisen-

NORMA KRAUSE HERZFELD *is a free lance writer. Her syndicated column has appeared in the* Catholic Reporter *and other diocesan weekly newspapers.*

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hower suddenly pulled the "open skies" proposal out of somebody's briefcase at Geneva in 1955. With the acceleration of both the arms race and arms technology, proposals have to be thoroughly researched before, during and after negotiation. "Soft" research involves political situations, historical backgrounds and precedents, legal problems, economics, attitudes and behavioral studies. "Hard" research involves military, scientific and technical problems. ACDA coordinates all government disarmament research, working with the Labor Department, Commerce Department, U.S. Information Agency, CIA, Defense Department, Atomic Energy Commission and NASA. Much research is contracted out to private industry, universities, foundations and individuals.

The big money for hard research in arms control and related areas comes from the Defense Department and includes Project VELA and much of Project CLOUD GAP. VELA was originally set up in 1960 during test-ban negotiations to study the relationship between underground explosions and earthquakes and try to distinguish between them. Great progress was made in this field, enabling the U.S. to trim its requirements considerably for inspection on a comprehensive ban. But the test-ban treaty finally signed was a limited one allowing underground testing to continue. Research has continued to perfect and refine methods for detecting nuclear blasts underground, underwater, in the atmosphere or in outer space. In the last half of 1964 VELA spent $31.9 million on this research. Technically, VELA is charged with safeguarding the test-ban treaty against clandestine violations, but many observers believe that additional progress made in detection and verification now warrants the signing of a complete test-ban treaty with less stringent safeguards.

Project CLOUD GAP is concerned with the field testing of disarmament inspection systems. It has tested the inspection of a military installation by a team and by aerial photographic surveillance, and also the monitoring of military activity by observation posts. It has just concluded an experiment on the proposed production freeze of strategic nuclear delivery vehicles, sending observers into factories producing Titan and Polaris missiles to find out how many observers and what kind of observations would be necessary to verify production rates. Currently it is studying techniques for determining compliance with cutbacks in ground forces and air forces under disarmament agreements.

Hard research is rarely criticized, often because it is just too technical, usually because it is deemed more important than soft research. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee was pretty hard on ACDA's soft research program at this year's hearings. Senator Fulbright, no mean foreign policy expert himself, looked at an ACDA study analyzing the peacekeeping measures needed to achieve the various stages of the U.S. proposals on General and Complete Disarmament (GCD), and called $87,000 "a rather high price" for a collection of seven short essays. Actually this sum financed 20 discussion meetings of seven foreign policy experts over the period of a year, probably not at all out of line with similar procedure in military and scientific studies. True, some of the soft studies read like committee reports Congress has been grinding out for years. (Often they are written by the same people. Every research area generally has the same "in-group" with the government.) Who could feel a great surge of discovery upon reading such statements as this on arms control in Latin America: "In nearly all countries in the region, the military establishment is an important element in the domestic political process"?

The trouble with some of this research, as was the case with the Fulbright target, is that it is tied to the unfortunate GCD concept which ACDA was saddled with at its inception. Every nation talks about GCD, but no nation would want to live with it, and no nation talks about it so faithfully as Russia. It was to undercut Russian propaganda that President Kennedy committed the U.S. to a GCD treaty of our own that is hopelessly impractical and often gets in the way of research on the stubborn piecemeal problems that real political situations produce. ACDA is also saddled with its own basic policy decision not to develop a crackerjack RAND-type research group, outside but well-connected, which would be more likely to produce relevant and exciting approaches.

Above all, whether research is hard, soft, pedestrian or seminal, it does no good if high policymakers never see it. This is a real problem, for high policymakers don't always rate disarmament as a topic they wish to bone up on. Supporters once envisioned ACDA as taking its information and influence systematically as a matter of course into the highest policymaking levels where the big decisions are constantly being made. This has never been done. The agency has helped, however, to develop an all-important awareness in the government that new weapons should be evaluated among other things for how well they could be brought under control and for the degree that they may provoke a new escalation of the arms race. A major decision now facing the President is whether to deploy the multi-billion-dollar Nike-X anti-missile system around U.S. cities to any degree. One of the leading arguments against such deployment is that it would destabilize the arms race, provoking

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Russia at least to deploy a similar system and causing a new spiral of offense and defense.

ACDA came into its precarious existence just as the plateau of the stable deterrent was being reached in the East-West arms race. Even though Russia was pushing hard in Berlin and had just broken the voluntary test moratorium with its superbomb, disarmament talks continued, research continued, and suddenly within two years Russia was ready for the limited test-ban treaty. Since then there have been various "token" efforts in the arms race. The U.S. freely inspected Russian and other national installations in the Antarctic under the 1959 treaty making it a disarmed zone. The U.S. has opened one of its large atomic reactors to inspection by the International Atomic Energy Agency. UN members have declared outer space for peaceful purposes only. Unilateral cuts in arms budgets and the manufacture of fissionable material have been made by Russia and the U.S.

Talking in Geneva

The reconvened Geneva disarmament conference will look like another Russian propaganda session unless the neutrals take more initiative. The U.S. has been refining its proposals of last year, but basically they are the same: a freeze of the number and characteristics of strategic nuclear offensive and defensive delivery vehicles, a halt of all production of weapons-grade fissionable material and an end to proliferation of nuclear weapons. To end proliferation the U.S. has proposed agreements by nuclear powers that no nuclear weapons will be transferred to the control of states not now controlling them, more effective international control of transfer of peaceful atoms, greater acceptance of full international controls by nuclear powers themselves, and a comprehensive test-ban treaty which would close the underground loopholes.

Only recently has it been fully appreciated that there is so little difference between atoms for war and atoms for peace, that nations with peaceful reactors can make weapons with little difficulty. Previously peaceful reactors were pushed hard and International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards were not as adequate as they might have been. The U.S., promoting reactors under bilateral agreements, has at last been moving these agreements under IAEA control and urging increased inspection. So "atoms for peace" ultimately involve proliferation of nuclear weapons. There are likewise strong arguments that the proposed NATO multilateral nuclear force, so objectionable to Russia, is another form of proliferation.

With ambitious France and aggressive China chipping away at the nuclear stalemate, alarm has finally risen slightly above the alarm-as-usual level. After the second Chinese nuclear explosion at Lop Nor, the President appointed the Gilpatric Committee for an exhaustive study of the proliferation problem, but its report, finished months ago, remains the most hush-hush paper since the famed Gaither Report. Some experts believe it would take as long as 15 years for China to "catch up" with the arms race leaders, but many feel this is far too optimistic. Pessimism about China has led to serious talk of a U.S. preventive war in the Far East. Some sources believe that even if Chinese nuclear installations were destroyed, China could make a comeback in two years. Others have suggested that bombing China's industrial base for several days could set her total development back one hundred years.

The U.S. has stirred up interest in the guarantee to non-nuclear powers, presumably by Russia, Britain and the U.S., against nuclear aggression by China. Russian attitudes can change overnight, but at the moment Soviet action seems precluded by its jockeying with China for leadership of the Communist world and its lack of a central government executive with enough power to make decisions stick. Credibility of such a treaty may be lacking in any case, and the U.S. has been deliberately vague about giving formal unilateral guarantees to threatened countries not now under our protective umbrella of alliances.

It is probably much too late to stop proliferation, as it has been in so many other cases, and ways will have to be found to live with it. As the deadly jest has it, each country will have a different colored mushroom cloud so that the origin of a nuclear explosion can be pinpointed.

If it is any consolation, there will probably be no quantitative change in weapons in our generation comparable to the change from conventional arms to nuclear arms. Neutron bombs, anti-matter weapons, doomsday machines should remain science fiction (or funny movies) for a very long time to come, if not forever. The prediction of Clark Abt, manager of Raytheon's advanced studies department, as to what weapons will be developed between 1970 and 1980 seems credible. He sees a very low probability that men will develop the gigaton bomb, an orbital anti-ballistic missile, an energy-beam anti-ballistic missile, directed electromagnetic energy weapons and undersea military bases. He sees a moderate probability for low-altitude manned aircraft penetrators, a successful Nike-X anti-ballistic missile, nuclear-powered aircraft, rocket transport of men and bases, and floating bases. He sees a high pro-

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bability for development of "suitcase" nuclear weapons, long-endurance penetration bombers, a super-Polaris missile, and vertical take-off and landing aircraft.

As Senator Robert Kennedy observed in his recent speech calling for greater disarmament efforts, "It is far more difficult and expensive to construct an adequate system of control and custody than to develop the weapons themselves." In the absence on one hand of genuine political settlements and on the other hand of catastrophic war, it seems likely that the vast arms network in which the world is enmeshed will in turn be enmeshed in a global system of electronics producing constant surveillance. This would not stop a large war, but it could keep one from breaking out by destroying any element of surprise and eliminating advantages of the offensive.

Meanwhile, the U.S. government might prod the Russians a little harder to recognize their own self-interest in more arms control. It might try to share with the Russians more of our knowledge of arms control technicalities and persuade them to do more studies of their own commensurate with the sophistication of the subject. It might attempt a closer contact with China. It might seek new ways of rehabilitating the United Nations as a peacemaker by better systems for peace observation, collective security, a peace force.

U.S. industry should be acquainted with the fact that disarmament can be good business. If it can begin acquiring a vested interest in the war on poverty by supplying equipment for it, it could certainly acquire a vested interest in supplying equipment for disarmament. Where the business of a nation is business, the way to a man's influence is through his vested interest.

The creation of status symbols is an important long-range tool for peace. If a disarmament agency has a very low status in the U.S., few nations in Africa or Latin America or the Middle East are going to crave such a status symbol. New nations have eagerly sought not only Cadillacs, but national airlines and atomic reactors, and many have developed a Peace Corps of their own. Why not let them admire and envy our disarmament work by giving it a more important place in our national life?

ACDA is just beginning to look into the problem of controlling biological and chemical warfare. It has made initial studies in the role of U.S. military assistance, but it might be allowed to make recommendations when U.S. foreign aid budgets are being planned. It should also have something to say about the advisability of the U.S. trying to sell billions of dollars worth of arms all over the world in increasing numbers. Preoccupation with halting the nuclear arms race has led to a more relaxed attitude about "limited" wars. (A limited war is a war that's someplace else.) Studies should be pursued on the prevention and termination of limited wars.

The Hot Line

One of the most crucial areas is termination of nuclear war. The Washington-Moscow "hot line" is a step in this direction. How do you communicate with the proper authorities on the "other side" at the height of thermonuclear war? How do you bargain? How do you verify agreements when every second may mean a new escalation or a new advantage or disadvantage for one side or the other? How do you make multilateral communications? RAND corporation was doing such a study for the Air Force some years ago under the title of "strategic surrender" but when Congress got wind of it indignation and outrage ran high. By using the less inflammatory current title of "war termination" the government might be able to invest in a little insurance.

Because of the vast array or arms problems to cope with, many ACDA supporters feel the $10-million annual budget ceiling is a tragedy of short-sightedness. But one ACDA official said, somewhat wryly it is true, "We may not get much money compared to the Pentagon, but we have an awful lot of money compared to the Catholic Association for International Peace." ACDA has been generally criticized for being inexperienced, for having to recruit help from other agencies on a temporary basis instead of developing its own permanent corps of experts, and of falling into jurisdictional disputes. All these seem to be problems that would work themselves out if permanence and stability as well as a more regular role in high policy planning were vouchsafed to this orphan of the bureaucratic storm. The olive branch of government could certainly use more care and cultivation.

Great expectations do exist. A few days after the rose

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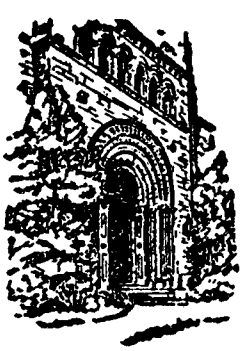

Prospective students should make early application

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garden ceremony the Washington *Post* wrote in its most imperious editorial manner: "The President did well in prolonging the life of the Disarmament Agency. Now it's up to the agency's officials to come up with the acceptable ideas that will make the impossible possible."

MUGGING THE BARD IN CENTRAL PARK

THE STAGE

Shakespeare has had a hard time of it in America. Not only is there no Shakespearean acting tradition and adequate schooling available, but also what theatrical method has prevailed here is the exact opposite of the style, or stylization, Shakespeare requires. Thus the Bard has fallen into the hands of either academicians and their student productions, or culture-mongering socialites banding together with the backwash of Broadway to Theatre-Guild the lily. Typically, the American Shakespeare Festival at Stratford, Connecticut, wallows in both errors: a representative production there is a "Measure for Measure" done as a Strauss operetta in Old Vienna, with a company full of Broadway has-beens or mincing eunuchs, and directed either by a cast-off director of the Old Vic with his wonderfully Edwardian ideas, or by an ex-college professor with no stageworthy idea whatever.

But my concern here is with the New York Shakespeare Festival, to be had in Central Park every summer, and singled out for every kind of praise by every kind of reviewer. Night after night it sells out—not its seats, which are gratis, but its artistic standards, which, if any, are gratuitous.

Two things should be noted right away about Joseph Papp, the man who conceived and produces the Festival. He is passionately dedicated, and he was able to get the project going over all manners of opposition and, what is worse, indifference. He raised the money, and, God knows, it's easier to find sermons in stones than to squeeze blood, or money, out of them. But though Papp is a gifted money-raiser, that does not yet make him a theatrical producer of quality—and certainly not a valid artistic, let alone stage, director. He has undeniable talents for getting things started, and no idea where to stop.

As I look back on many summers of Central Park theatre-going, I see few things to recall with genuine pleasure. Perhaps no more than three: Philip Bosco's Angelo, Penny Fuller's Celia, and John Morris's music for "Love's Labour's Lost" (or, as the Pappians in their non-U way spelled it, "Love's Labor's Lost"). Even there I cannot be quite sure about how much additional dignity Bosco gained by the cloddishness of Marianne Hartley's Isabella, how much Penny Fuller's stature was raised by the total collapse of Paula Prentiss's Rosalind, and how much Morris's unpretentious melodiousness profited by contrast with the customary claptrap of David Amram. In any case, what are these few bright spots as against that army of Rorschachian blots spreading across Mr. Papp's scutcheon?

What, for example, of Frank Silvera's Lear, a vapidly self-pitying whiner from beginning to end; of Nan Martin's Beatrice, all leaden cutenesses; of Colleen Dewhurst's and Michael Higgins's turning "Antony and Cleopatra" into the humdrum affair of an Irish washerwoman with an Irish cop, complete with brogues? What of Julie Harris's baby-talking Ophelia; of Papp's staging of "The Merchant of Venice" so that Shylock emerges the undisputed hero; of Gerald Freedman's directing "The Tempest" as a series of vaudeville acts bristling with sight-gags and stage tricks further obscuring the already mumbled and uneasily rattled-off poetry? And what of the repeated casting of performers like Betty Henritze, who has only to appear on stage for the aesthetic eye to boggle; or Jane White, who has only to open her mouth for the civilized ear to revolt? Or take the current directorial trio, Gladys Vaughan, Gerald Freedman, and Papp himself; individually, I dare say, they could be matched, but I defy anyone to adduce a threesome as monumentally untalented.

Consider the most recent Park production I have seen, Mrs. Vaughan's "Coriolanus." Here were crowd and battle scenes of which a third-rate discotheque would have been ashamed; swordmanship that looked like a bunch of tourists in Chinatown insistent upon using chopsticks; blocking that had, for example, Coriolanus bidding farewell to his wife from clear across the stage; low comedy involving the Volscian servants lingered over with much more gusto (though no more taste) than any of the tragedy surrounding the protagonist; a Valeria interpreted not as a noble Roman matron but as an Eve Arden-style comic-relief *hausfrau;* and an entire cast mispronouncing the Volsces as "the Volskis"—shades of the Russkis, perhaps?

The individual performances, with the exception of Robert Burr's manly and personable, though hardly great and tragic, Coriolanus, were foul to middling; of these the most hauntingly horrible were the tribunes of Alan Ansara and James Earl Jones, the Virgilia of

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Kate Sullivan, and—hysterically cheered by reviewers and audiences alike—the Volumnia of Jane White. Jones sounded like a one-stringed double bass with a faintly Calypso accent, and rolled about like a huge barrel set in motion by a homunculus within. As for Miss White, her every look, gesture, and move is that of a fishwife suffering in equal measure from neurasthenia and megalomania. But the supreme give-away is her voice, inflating every sound, blowing up every syllable into an egomaniacal balloon, until her entire hypertrophic ego is wafted heavenward on bloated, unnatural vocables.

Proper Musicality

Both Miss White and Mr. Jones are Negroes, which brings me to yet another trouble with Papp's productions. Out of a laudable integrationist zeal, Mr. Papp has seen fit to populate his Shakespeare with a high percentage of Negro performers. But the sad fact is that, through no fault of their own, Negro actors often lack even the rudiments of Standard American speech —itself well behind British English in musicality and appropriateness to Shakespearean verse; moreover, they have been unjustly deprived of sufficient training and experience in even the standard American repertoire, such as it is. As a result, desegregation will take even longer on the poetical than on the political plane.

But it is not only aurally that Negro actors present a problem; they do not look right in parts that historically demand white performers. As the painter Larry Rivers—neither a highbrow nor a square, but possessed of an acute visual sense—remarked during a recent symposium, "I don't think putting Negro actors in white parts is possible—I don't see how you can keep life out of the stage." Thus a black Henry V runs counter to the lifelikeness of the play—all the more so when, as always happens, his brother is played by a white actor. With Mrs. Vaughan's Roman citizenry about four-fifths Negro, Rome became, clearly, the capital of Abyssinia, the few whites presumably accountable for as missionaries. The trouble with this sort of thing is that it cannot help setting off wrong responses, so that it is scarcely surprising to find the innocent who passes for *Cue* magazine's drama critic commenting that "the bitter clashes are sometimes startlingly suggestive of Bogalusa or Selma." Fine, except that, unfortunately, that is not remotely what the play is about.

The critical evaluations of Papp's enterprise have been consistently and thoroughly misleading—whether because of the assumption that something free of charge and for the people must be evaluated along democratic, not dramatic, lines, or simply because of the popular reviewers' abysmal lack of discrimination, it would be difficult to say. What, for instance, is one to conclude from Judith Crist's review of "Coriolanus" in the *Herald Tribune,* which reads in part: "Whenever the play bogs down in talk or scene change—and this play does—director Gladys Vaughan has set a citizen to scrambling about, a flag to waving and a lackey to pratfalling. None of this is excessive, all of it is part of the excitement generated by this handsomely dressed, fast-flowing production." The conclusion, I suppose, is either that Shakespeare at the height of his creative powers was a bungler happily rescued by Mrs. Gladys Vaughan, or that Miss Crist, at the height of her critical powers, is beyond rescue.

What justification is there for feeding audiences not Shakespeare but pap—whether with one or two p's? Some twenty-five years ago, arguing for the movies as they then were, the playwright Gerhart Hauptmann wrote: "One does not drag down 'Peer Gynt' when one makes a film of it; but one may, perhaps, raise an audience consisting of decent chambermaids, hansom cab-drivers, or even of all kinds of uncontrollable elements, up to its level." Rather than the Germany of 1920, this is the democratic America of 1965 with hardly any chambermaids or hansom cabbies left (though a few of the latter survive, precisely along the perimeter of Central Park), but Papp's Shakespeare today is very much what a 1920 silent-film version of "Peer Gynt" might have been. No doubt there are those—drama reviewers included—who enjoy, of a sticky New York evening, going into the summery Park for an uplifting sermon against Governor Wallace, but those whose concern is with Shakespeare, with theatre, with art will find little or nothing of value in it.

Mr. Papp is not really interested in art, let alone poetry, about which he manifestly knows nothing. To him, Shakespeare is the friend of the common man, the spokesman for the underdog, the social, or socialist, Messiah. But Shakespeare was no such thing, and in the attempt to wrench him into that, his true magnificence is irretrievably lost.

The New York Shakespeare Festival had best be considered as an act of charity for underprivileged New Yorkers, and should, as such, be reviewed by those reporters whom the papers regularly send out to cover charity balls and bazaars. Or is that whom they have been sending all along? JOHN SIMON

(*Mr. Simon, who here contributes a guest column, is drama critic for the* Hudson Review.)

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SUMMER SUMMARY

THE SCREEN

Since this year's summer films were better-than-usual, and since this magazine's bi-weekly summer schedule reduces my space, I'm giving a hasty report on recent arrivals, some of which deserve longer reviews. On the whole, this menu offers more than just an escape into an air-conditioned theater, and, interestingly enough, the best block of pictures is from England.

"The Ipcress File," an exceedingly well-made, British spy-and-chase thriller, invites comparison with the James Bond movies. I liked it better. Its story about the efforts of Civil Intelligence to learn who are the villains connected with the suddenly ineffectual work of some British scientists or their complete disappearance in this "brain drain" operation, is fascinating; and its director, Sidney J. Furie, has added considerably to its exicitement and appeal with imaginative camera tricks that heighten the suspense. Although it has some of the violence and satiric humor emphasized in the Bond films, its plot is more plausible; and its hero, very well played by Michael Caine (without Sean Connery's exaggerated sex appeal), is a reluctant spy who is blackmailed into the job when his real interests are in girls, books, music, and cooking. He has little time for these diversions, however; and you'll enjoy watching him.

"Morituri" is also concerned with a reluctant secret agent who is blackmailed into dangerous work. Marlon Brando, portraying a German demolition expert who hates war and is sitting out the current conflict in luxury in India in 1942, is bullied by a British Intelligence officer (Trevor Howard) into posing as an SS officer on a German blockade runner that is carrying 7,000 tons of rubber. Marlon's job on the *Ingo* is to disarm the charges which the vessel's captain would use to scuttle this valuable cargo in case the ship is captured by the Allies. This captain (Yul Brynner), who also takes a dim view of war, was drunk when his last ship was torpedoed and now is convinced that Marlon is aboard to spy on him. All this makes for a tense situation once the *Ingo* gets going, and director Bernard Wicki knows how to build up suspense during the long voyage on the Pacific. Unfortunately scriptwriter Daniel Taadash has crowded so many characters with problems—crew, prisoners, survivors from another ship, *and* a maltreated Jewish girl (Janet Margolin) who is being sent back to Germany—on the *Ingo* that we find ourselves wallowing through various heavy accents and sub-plots that we can't always follow. "Morituri" almost sinks in its own sea of melodrama, but its good cast and exciting action are guaranteed to keep you awake and afloat.

"Before the Revolution" is an extraordinarily interesting Italian picture made by a very young director-writer, Bernado Bertolucci, who errs on the arty side every now and then but has made such a thoughtful and imaginative movie that one is inclined to overlook his slips and applaud his advances. Set in Parma (and influenced by Stendhal, as well as a series of established moviemakers: Resnais, Truffaut, Rossellini, Fellini, Godard, and others), the film tells the story of a very young man (perhaps the director's age?) and follows his growth and change during the period of a year. That parts of the film are derivative in techniques from both literary and cinematic sources really doesn't matter; and perhaps it doesn't even matter that occasionally the story line is confused and unclear. What does count is the film's lyrical quality and its success in capturing the enthusiasm, moodiness, groping, and uncertainty of youth. The two lead roles are superbly played by Francesco Barilli as the boy, and by Adriana Asti as his young aunt with whom he has a love affair. "Before the Revolution" is the kind of movie that merits, and almost needs, several viewings, while one waits expectantly for Bertolucci's next effort.

"Help!" also bounces with the enthusiasm of youth. It is the Beatles' second film; and if it isn't quite the fun of their first wacky delight, it is still a hilarious madcap affair. It has a crazy plot line in which Ringo is pursued by far eastern thugs, a couple of scientists, and various other people whose intentions get lost as their numbers multiply and John, Paul, and George join Ringo for the run. Once again directed by Richard Lester who handled the first Beatle flight and the higher-flying "Knack," the new movie suffers a bit through repetition—and perhaps Lester's own success. But "Help!" has much to recommend it on its own: some lovely color photography of the English, Swiss, and Bahamas backgrounds, some utterly zany non-sequiturs in both the dialogue and visuals, and the skillful staging of the song numbers. Beatle fans will probably be in seventh heaven as they watch the goings-on.

"The Married Woman," an import from France, is, as its maker, Jean-Luc Godard, says in a foreword: "Fragments of a film made in 1964—in black and white." I'm not sure what it's all about, but as far as I could

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make out it's portraying 24 hours in the life of a woman who can't make up her mind whether to stay with her lover or husband, or even which one of the two is the father of her forthcoming baby. Godard's film has shot after shot of the woman first in bed with her lover, then with her husband, then back to the lover. Practically all the visuals, and very intimate indeed they are, and the accompanying script seem to be told from the woman's point of view—a very confused woman, this married woman is. And she gets little help, at least mentally, from the men in her life, or from the two conversations about sex that absorb her: one a detailed revelation by her maid, and the other, an overhead talk between two young girls. Photographically, the movie is stunning. As a slice of life, it's only a slice—and one hardly know whether to take it at all seriously or as an example of Godard's pulling our leg for a nickel.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

BOOKS

"Eccentricity, idiosyncrasy, comicality, the stuff of gossip and scandal"

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SAUL MALOFF

Of the twenty-odd thousand titles rolling from American presses each year, most ought never to see the light of day. This is not at all a violent opinion; it is the consensus view. By now, everyone knows about non-books; and nearly everyone, one supposes, has at one time or another bought them. They are the shabby little trifles held together somehow by some sort of tricky binding, and a lot of sheer gall —aimed at capturing the wandering attention of the impulse buyer who will buy anything so long as it seems to promise a moment's kicks. These are the non-books properly speaking and they needn't detain us any longer.

There is another kind of non-book which looks like something altogether different, but isn't really. The author's name is not an abomination to the eye of the beholder; the publisher can be very respectable indeed; the book itself looks authentic; the subject is not inherently despicable. The category is often biography, which gives rise to the suspicion that there is a huge audience still which does not quite trust fiction and its strategies of illusion, and will read anything that is of its nature factual, and in its promise authentic. It will scarcely occur to them that there are good biographies and bad biographies. What is important is the book's subject.

And as to subject, the more amusing and vivid the better; and as to author, the more lively and anecdotal the better. And if biography is the point, the more the better, the theory, apparently, being that you can't get too much of a good thing. Hence the advent of the multiple-biography, short biographical sketches of an array of subjects —sometimes because a thin thread seems to bind them together (they are all women, or men, or painters, or Nebraskans, or murderers, or kings), and sometimes because, one supposes, they simply presented themselves to the author as possible subjects. In this area, the late Hesketh Pearson excelled; and as it happens his final (posthumously published) volume is a grab-bag of short sketches over a wide field.

One wishes that Pearson hadn't felt the need to theorize about his kind of biography; but, alas, the amiable, immensely prolific British biographer did feel the need. In a defense against real or imagined charges of superficiality or frivolousness, Pearson offers a sort of theoretical justification of his life and work. He is interested, he says, not in mighty men of valor and great deeds, the darlings of academic historians, but, quite simply, in "extraordinary people . . . those with strongly marked individualities, incalculable personalities, wits, humorists, rebels." Biography, he asserts, thrives best on "eccentricity, idiosyncrasy, comicality, the stuff of gossip and scandal. Singularity of character is the flesh and bones of enduring biography. . . ."

Pearson needn't have gone to the trouble: his work is either indefensible, or it needs no defense. He *is* superficial and frivolous; and it is left to the reader to decide either that nothing can possibly survive such fatal weaknesses, or to take such momentary pleasures as he affords, unquestioningly. He may simply decide that the world would be a drearier place without Pearson's charming, and perfectly harmless, anecdotage. He may even decide that the beefeaters of scholarly biography could learn a lesson or two from his kind of soufflé and meringue. But he should not be mistaken about what it is that he is reading, for Pearson is less a biographer in the significant sense than he is a bon vivant and raconteur.

The sketches vary in length from reasonably substantial portraits of his beloved G.B.S. and Frank Harris and Henry Fielding to more cursory profiles of some odd and sometimes beguiling figures who caught his eye and fancy during his squire's saunters along the byways of English history. There are, among others, Pearson's own ancestors: Dr. Erasmus Darwin and Sir Francis Galton; and the formidable bluestocking Anna Seward who did not hesitate to chastize the old lion Dr.

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Johnson himself when he talked "twaddle"; and Willkie Collins, Tom Paine, Forbes-Robertson. This is the sort of story Pearson adored: Forbes-Robertson, chained to his long-run spectacular, ruinous success as the Stranger in "The Passing of the Third Floor Back" crying in the wings "Chr-r-ist! Will they never let me give up this bloody part!?"—just before the curtain opened showing him "standing there like a saint, or greater."

Pearson pays homage to Henry Fielding that great good man, not only as a supreme novelist, but also as a great police magistrate; but his heart really belongs to his friends Shaw and Harris. They are, notoriously, magnificent material for anecdote, and that is Pearson's element.

Harris, especially, that ribald old swindler and mountebank, that blackguard and blackmailer, poseur and impostor. What a subject, with his fantastic stories of amatory exploits on several continents, traveling salesmen jokes, really, claimed for autobiography, and more or less believed. But to be merely a knave does not commend itself to Pearson's gentle spirit; Harris was also kindly, a good and compassionate man who stood by Oscar Wilde in his agony, and helped young writers, and had an eye for talent when it came his way. The material on Shaw is obviously made up of the tag-ends of Pearson's full-length biography—but Shaw never fails to provide amusing stories to the practiced eye and ear.

And so it goes, story piled upon story, gag upon gag—the memorable tale, the quotable line, material, some of it very good, for the biographies which lay outside the field of Pearson's competence, or interest.

Winston Churchill

VIOLET BONHAM CARTER

Harcourt Brace, $8.50

ANNE FREMANTLE

". . . At last I had to deal very faithfully with him, and remind him that no man can rat twice." Thus Lloyd George describes an encounter with Winston Churchill in 1910, when they were both members of Asquith's cabinet. Churchill did "rat twice" and the account by Asquith's daughter, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, of the ten years when she knew Churchill best—1906 to 1916—shows "the incubus," as the Conservatives called him after World War II, in many lights. How extraordinarily uneducated he was! At thirty-two he had never heard of Keats' *Ode to a Nightingale*, and thought William Blake, poet, painter and seer, was the Admiral of that name. How humorless he was! When Lloyd George and Charles Masterman were talking "impishing and absolutely in fun" of the guillotine they would set up in Trafalgar Square, Churchill said, with "great solemnity, 'if this is what it leads to, you must be prepared for me to leave you'." How incredibly self-centered he was! Meeting a 19-year-old at dinner he subjects her to a rhetorical harangue: "Curse ruthless time! Curse our mortality. How cruelly short is the allotted span for all we must cram into it." And he could not brook opposition. "Disagreement was, in any form, obnoxious to him," Lady Violet writes, and asks "was he, as people said, inebriated by his own words? I did not care, I only knew I was."

So she forsook the dance floor to listen to him talk. She seems to have "fallen" hard for him, and never to have recovered from her first infatuation. That Churchill hardly noticed her, except as

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an audience, is fairly clear. "Sometimes he made a full-blown speech to me, which was delivered later to a larger and worthier audience. But he was not just trying it on the dog. He liked thinking aloud . . ." What is astonishing, is that Lady Violet, now 77, has written this, her first book, with such a mastery of her material, and with such a freshness of tone. She really "saw Shelley plain" and it seems to have been a most satisfactory relationship throughout her life.

And how right she is—despite her devotion to him that is near idolatry—when she says: "though he had vision he appeared to lack antennae—to ignore the need to feel his way about other minds." Nor had he any sense of the ridiculous. "Winston is full of the poor whom he has just discovered," wrote one of his cabinet colleagues. All his life "he enjoyed the ovation of the crowd but he still ignored the necessity of having a personal following."

His pleasure in war was perhaps his most enduring characteristic. He doted on his first cousin "Sunny" Duke of Marlborough, but after he became a Liberal talked of dukes as goldfish, ornamental creatures. He stood bravely against Carson and advocated home rule for Ireland; but later, when home rule for India was proposed, he said he had not become His Majesty's first minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the Empire. His alternate feudings and friendships with Lord Fisher are related at inordinate length by Lady Violet. Indeed, it seems that his "imperviousness to the state of other people's minds" led him to ignore the fact that though he might conveniently forget his own inconsistencies, others might remember them. But always he enjoyed war. First the South African War, and then World War I. "I think a curse should rest on me because I am so happy. I know this war is smashing and shattering the lives of thousands every moment—and yet—I cannot help it," he told Lady Violet, discussing the strategy of Gallipoli with tremendous zest. And she notes she had rarely seen him "more happy and fulfilled." But he also enjoyed such incidents as the "siege of Sidney Street" when he left the Home Office to direct "Scots Guardsmen, policemen and other persons firing rifles, pistols and shotguns" at a house containing two anarchists, who were burnt to death because Winston forbade the London fire brigade to put out the fire. Winston "had enjoyed every moment of the street fighting in Whitechapel and he made us enjoy it too . . . My father's reaction (Asquith was Prime Minister at the time) was one of helpless amusement."

Winston Churchill had, supremely, the gift of making himself comprehensible to the whole nation in its darkest hour, yet he was, as Lady Volet notes, never a liberal. He was truly a democrat—he believed that "great numbers are at least an explanation of great changes," and he was always a "toff." "I have always had to earn every penny I possessed but there has never been a day in my life when I could not order a bottle of champagne for myself and offer another to a friend," he told Lady Violet, and she is one friend who has repaid him to the best of her very real ability.

Dreiser

W. A. SWANBERG

Scribners, $10

JAMES T. FARRELL

When Theodore Dreiser died, H. L. Mencken had this to say: "All of us who write are better off because he lived, worked and hoped." Theodore Dreiser was a great writer, a literary artist of world stature, and he performed the major service of helping to make possible a twentieth-century American literature. His life is part of the history of America, in fact, of world history.

W. A. Swanberg has written a book with 528 pages of text about Dreiser. It is a massive chronological compilation of events—a kind of biographical movie in words. The jacket blurb and advertisements describe the book as a "comprehensive biography." Comprehensive it is; comprehending, it is not.

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The life of Theodore Dreiser is important because of what Dreiser did with it, not because of a succession of love affairs, personal squabbles, and found and lost friendships. With less writing and more understanding, certain events and their chained sequence would have been of interest.

Dreiser was a brooding, introspective, moody and wondering man. He was not a happy man. A significant aspect of his unhappiness is what he did with it, what he made of it. This is the main point about the life of Dreiser, the one that should not be forgotten. Dreiser's life had significance because of his writing. Sister Carrie. Jennie Gerhardt, An American Tragedy. The Genius. The Titans. The Financier. Free and Other Stories. The Bulwark. All his works.

And yet Mr. Swanberg is almost banal when he offers comments about these writings of Dreiser's. He seems to find Dreiser's love letters to the 17-year-old "Honey Pot" more interesting. There are 528 pages of facts, carefully researched and presented in chronological order. There are but a few mistakes. In all, these pages present the picture of a man who is often a boor, sometimes vulgar and erratic, and perennially girl-struck. This is a researched book masking as scholarship. It is the Hollywood pattern twisted around and presuming to be more serious. Nevertheless, Mr. Swanberg has presented voluminous facts with a denigrating faithfulness to cliché and an underdeveloped imagination.

The significance of Dreiser's life is lost in this kind of crude empiricism, off-the-cuff profundity, and platitudinist judgmentalism. The main point about the life of Dreiser is that it does have significance. What Dreiser created is part of his life. These have saved him from the nameless dead.

Recognizing the obvious fact that Dreiser and his work are inseparably linked, we can say that Theodore Dreiser became a force like Balzac and Tolstoy. Theodore Dreiser was a great writer, an artist, which commits him to the memory of mankind. Neither his death nor unimaginative colonizers of literature from Philistia can choke his voice into silence—Theodore Dreiser speaks beyond the grave, and his voice is one of lasting human sympathy.

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ROLAND E. MURPHY

It is characteristic of a theological student to seek and to scrutinize the "argument from Scripture," and each Christian is bound to do this in his own way. There is a whole epistemology involved in the process. One cannot close one's eyes to the development, the historical change, that forces one beyond a literal and *simpliste* biblicism. At the same time one must ever return to the biblical ideal for purposes of

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guidance and comparison (as the Church is doing in Vatican II). The two books under review are excellent examples of this theological quest.

Fr. Schelkle, professor of New Testament on the Catholic faculty of Tübingen, returns to the Bible to "point out the New Testament foundation for priestly office in the Church" (foreword). His treatment is sound and informative. He presents the biblical theology of discipleship and apostleship, the meaning of care of souls, the role of proclaimer, priesthood (of community and individual), and finally, apostolic succession. In a very sympathetic but positive way he points up the priestly service of the apostolic office (and not merely of the community) in the New Testament. Here he is thoroughly honest, and his main argument is all the stronger, about the vagueness of priestly terminology in the New Testament. If *hiereus* is not used of priests among the holders of office, the reality of the mediative, and so priestly, function of the apostles is made clear. At the same time, the Church is a cultic community, and Schelkle gives full emphasis to the priestly dignity which the Church has as a whole, and which each of the faithful has: "It is our duty to proclaim that dignity and the commission which it contains. The Church and each of its faithful mediates salvation to the world."

Father McKenzie, the author of the well-known *Two-Edged Sword,* has done it again. The present work, subtitled "An Interpretation of the New Testament," is the companion to his earlier volume (sub-titled "An Interpretation of the Old Testament"). There are the same rich insights, with clear transposition to the modern situation, the same fine scholarship.

The format is somewhat loose. There are fourteen chapters, each of which is divided into about twenty sections. But this use of sub-titles should not perturb the reader; they serve as a convenient guide to the development of the thought. The introductory chapters give a clear exposition of the nature of the Gospels, and their literary formation, and a brief picture of the historical background to early Christianity. The theological treatment ranges through the Reign (kingdom) of God, messianism, christological titles, salvation, spirit, life in Christ, the Church, Christian morality, Church and State, Prayer, and a final chapter on Bultmann and demythologizing, which also discusses the meaning of theology.

If McKenzie had merely written a work describing or containing New Testament thought, this would have been welcome. The notable feature of this book is his constant reference to the present-day Christian (or non-Christian, for that matter). Again and again he comes back to the community of love that is the Church founded in

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REVIEWERS

SAUL MALOFF *is* Newsweek's *book editor.*

ANNE FREMANTLE *recently edited* The Protestant Mystics.

JAMES T. FARRELL *is the well-known author.*

FATHER ROLAND E. MURPHY, O. CARM., *is editor of the* Catholic Biblical Quarterly.

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Christ's saving act. He calls for personal involvement, meaningful response, to this New Testament reality. He underscores the true notion of power in the New Testament, which is not the compulsion so readily recognized in modern Christianity, but the power of love, and he dares Christians to live by this challenge.

The new developments in moral theology will be moved along by the sharp contrast between the moral revolution advocated by Christ and the legality of Stoicism which modern Christianity has inherited. Those who look for a biblical basis in a world increasingly dominated by the State will find a tough-minded dissection of current platitudes ("When one enumerates the elements of the common good, one cannot miss the fact that the state is concerned with just those values which . . . are overturned in the proclamation of the Gospel").

Those who are acquainted with the McKenzie style of provocative, challenging writing—with its love of paradox—will be fully satisfied. He would be the last to claim finality, but at the same time his arguments are not easily refuted. The "personal response" which he so often claims as a reaction to Christianity will surely find an echo in his readers.

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CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 611)

tary relevance to the maintenance of our presence in South Vietnam, also tends to establish that Mr. Shannon is as correct in telling us the bad news as I hope he is incorrect in thinking that the country would have supported the turn toward war.

HOWARD N. MEYER

Lutheran Androgynist

Jamaica, N. Y.

To the Editors: In reviewing Sidney Callahan's *The Illusion of Eve* a couple months ago I stated that the author's treatment of the biblical passages usually called on for support in keeping women in their place was the best treatment available in English. I find now that I probably did an injustice to Reverend Russell C. Prohl, Lutheran pastor, whose *Woman in the Church* (Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1957) gives at least as good an analysis of those passages. The Lutherans, unlike the Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and various Pentecostal groups, are still maintaining their ministry unsullied by feminine incursions—but Pastor Prohl is quite good at showing what the relative proportions of reason and prejudice are in the Lutheran motivation for maintaining the traditional ecclesiastical misogynism. Or is it gynephobia?

ROSEMARY LAUER

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2. **Open Sessions** (September 17) with members of the university community throughout the nation and representatives of other communities—writers, artists, professionals, and religious, labor, civil rights and community groups interested in the problem of Vietnam and world peace—to hear reports from the study groups and addresses by study group members from different parts of the world; to be followed by teach-in type seminars concerned with alternative perspectives on Vietnam and concrete alternative policies.
3. **Action Workshops** (September 18) composed of individuals and representatives of groups from various parts of the U.S. and from other parts of the world who will report on various activities and plans; participants, in accord with their specific interests, will divide themselves into workshops to map out specific action projects of a local, regional, national or international nature.

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